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Soyuz TM-16 With Russian-French Crew Lands in Kazakhstan

LD2207103493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—The Soyuz TM-16 spaceship with the Russian-French crew aboard landed 140 kilometers east of the city of Dzhezkazgan, Kazakhstan, on Thursday at 10:42. Cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov, Aleksandr Poleshchuk and Jean-Pierre Haignere returned to Earth. They feel well, the mission control centre reports.

The mixed crew consisting of crew commander Vasiliy Tsibliev, flight engineer Aleksandr Serebrov and Frenchman Jean-Pierre Haignere blasted off aboard the Soyuz TM-17 spaceship on July 1 to link up with the Mir orbital station.

They began joint work with the crew of the 13th main mission—cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Poleshchuk, who had been in orbit for nearly six months by that time.

The mission under the Altair project lasted 22 days. Tsibliev and Serebrov continue to work aboard the Mir station.

The programme of experiments carried out by the mixed crew over 22 days, was prepared by French specialists and included the main spheres of cosmonautics on geophysics, astrophysics, space materials science, biotechnology and medicine.

Many experiments were begun during the previous Russian-French mission (Antares project). The cosmonauts fulfilled ten types of medical experiments during the three weeks in space, including the so-called biodoza—influence of space radiation on biological objects as well as "viminal"—illusion of visual orientation.

The fourth Russian-French crew participated in the latest mission. The first flight with the participation of Frenchman Jean- Loup Chretien took place in 1982. He also participated in the second, the longest mission in 1988 (24 days). Michel Tognini was a member of the next mixed flight in 1992.

French 'Cosmonaut' Comments

LD2207110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris July 22 TASS—The programme of the fourth French-Russian space mission (Altair project), the experiments under which were completed aboard the Mir orbital station on Tuesday [20 July], were fully carried out under the best conditions is the summary of opinions expressed on this score by French cosmonaut Jean-Pierre Haignere and Lionel Suchet, Altair project head from the French side who is representative of the French research centre (CNES).

"The results of the mission are close to calculated ones," was a terse comment on the results of the three-week flight by Haignere during a space communication session with the CNES. The session was carried out via the Mission Control Centre in the city of Kaliningrad, Moscow region.

Suchet gave even a higher appraisal of the mission. He said that "everything was superb". The equipment did not make a single hitch during the flight, the French representative noted.

One of the experiments—"Microaccelerator"—the aim of which was to compile an exact map of microgravitation in the orbital complex, yielded even better results than expected, Suchet stressed.

The French-Russian crew returned to earth on Thursday. The Soyuz TM-16 spaceship landed 140 kilometers east of the city of Dzhezkazgan in Kazakhstan.

'Tension' at Baykonur Space Center Noted

PM2107143193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 1

[Anatoliy Pokrovskiy article: "Baykonur Still 'Marginalized.' Arguments Should Not Be Taken Into Orbit"]

[Text] On the day of the launch of the Russian-French crew Defense Minister P. Grachev, who was visiting the cosmodrome, gave permission to issue regulation weapons to all officers of Russia's Military Space Forces there.

"Let them defend themselves..."

From whom?

I have before me two documents separated by a little over a year. The first, signed at presidential level 25 May 1992, is the "Agreement Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Procedure for the Use of the Baykonur Cosmodrome." It's not worth going into its content, for the second, more recent document, although of lower rank, presumably automatically provides an impartial assessment of the durability of the first. So please excuse the lengthy quotation, but it is necessary. Thus the minutes of the conference held by O. Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, at Baykonur a week before the launch of the Russian-French crew state:

"It is noted that the Baykonur cosmodrome is involved in resolving a whole series of important tasks in the interests of ensuring security, developing the national economy and science, and implementing Russia's international commitments. At present the 'Proton' heavy carrier rockets to place satellites in geostationary orbits and to launch promising observation and navigation satellites and also the 'Mir' orbital station can be launched only from this cosmodrome. However, despite the adoption of multilateral agreements within the CIS context and bilateral agreements between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan regarding the Baykonur cosmodrome, an extremely tense situation persists at the cosmodrome.

"The main causes of the persisting tension are: the lack of an effective mechanism for implementing the agreements; the unsolved nature of a whole series of key problems reducing the effectiveness of the functioning of the cosmodrome, such as ensuring the social protection of servicemen and members of their families, shared financing of the operation of the cosmodrome with the Republic of Kazakhstan, ensuring law and order and security, organizing construction and installation work at the cosmodrome, and a number of others; and the insufficient coordination of actions among Russian ministries and departments in resolving the cosmodrome's problems."

As you can see, it is quite a tangle. And one that was pulled even tighter with military directness by the "landing force" headed by P. Grachev himself which arrived at Baykonur a little later. A resolute proposal was made to give the cosmodrome the status of a Russian military base. The members of the "landing force" do not care that the Constitution of Kazakhstan does not permit the existence of military bases on the republic's soil. Never mind, perhaps the military had not done their homework about the neighboring state. But what would P. Grachev say about his own diplomatic perspicacity if you suppose for a minute that Kazakhstan were to change its mind and provide military bases not only to Russia but to any other state? Finally, may a situation not arise where a crew launched into orbit will be unable to make a regular landing because the landing sites are also on Kazakhstan's territory and also form part of the cosmodrome's infrastructure? It cannot be denied that the parade of sovereignties is not like a military parade.

So far, thank God, matters have not gone this far. Two different crews from two different countries are completing work in orbit. Harmonious and promising work. To put in a nutshell the general trend of the medical and technological experiments in the Russian-French program, Gennadiy Manakov, Aleksandr Poleshchuk, Vasiliy Tsibliyev, Aleksandr Serebrov, and Jean-Pierre Haignere can be said to be working to make long manned flights more effective. It is not for nothing that Colonel Haignere is one of the leaders of the programs for the development and use of the "Hermes" European shuttle. The Russian Space Agency is attempting to organize a wide range of research. Its leader Yu. Koptev recently signed an extremely encouraging agreement on cooperation with American space organizations. In this important and complex process of breakthrough to the "abyss of might" for mankind is its earthly base—Baykonur—going to be marginalized (it still bears the code name "Krayniy" [Margin City] on air tickets)?

Here is how officers of one military unit assess the present situation in an appeal to the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine:

"We don't want to be hostages of anybody's political ambitions and games. The unique Baykonur cosmodrome created by Soviet people's labor must not vanish and must not become yet another 'cemetery of perestroyka.'"

These are familiar themes, aren't they? And you feel like asking: Is it only a matter of Baykonur?

Once again they have tried by means of raids by "landing forces" to resolve the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. To organize the withdrawal and redeployment of Russian troops from nearby foreign countries and those a little further afield. To engage in nuclear rearmament and disarmament. And to ensure the inviolability of the country's new borders. To such explosive effect that if a fire breaks out, it will take more than one army to put it out, and sparks are now flying in many places...

Iran, Chechen Republic, Azerbaijan Make 'Secret' Oil Treaty

LD2007101693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Iran, the Chechen Republic, and Azerbaijan have concluded a secret treaty on oil sales. This is reported in the Indian weekly, THE SUNDAY MAIL. It reports that Iran is attempting to trade in Islam in exchange for oil. Tehran seeks to spread the religion throughout the Chechen Republic and neighboring regions.

Working Group Meets in Beijing on Border Issues

LD2007134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Beijing July 20—A working group made up of a joint delegation from the Governments of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan, and a governmental delegation from China met in Beijing from July 9-20 to discuss the border line between China and the Commonwealth of Independent States of which the above former Soviet republics are members.

The group continued to examine the border dispute settlement in a business-like, constructive and friendly atmosphere. The parties to the negotiations agreed to continue to talks.

Participants in the talks were received by assistant to the Chinese Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo.

CIS Defense Official Visits Yerevan, Comments

LD2107120893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan July 21 TASS—"A system of collective security and military integration within the CIS is objectively necessary, and Armenia is one of its persistent proponents," said Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defence Ministers, who ended his two-day visit to Armenia on Wednesday [21 July].

According to Ivashov, a delegation from the main command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces came to Yerevan to discuss with the leaders of the Republic and its Defence Ministry the defensive capabilities of the CIS member-states and the work on the system of collective security.

The parties also discussed several issues relating to improvement of the Commonwealth military set-up, including the main command. The parties reached a mutual understanding on the problems they face and the ways to solve them, Ivashov said.

The fact that Armenia was among the first Commonwealth states to ratify the treaty on collective security demonstrates that the leadership and the parliament of the Republic praise and support the idea of collective security, he emphasized. "We are glad that Armenia treats the defence and security issues quite seriously," he said.

Ivashov met Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, leaders of the Armenian parliament, Defence Ministry and State Department of National Security.

The recent events at the Tajik-Afghan border prompt many political leaders that not everything is peaceful and secure in this world, he told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday.

According to Ivashov, despite the fact that the CIS member-states resolved to create a collective security system and several coordinating bodies, including the main command of the CIS joint armed forces, they failed to provide for the necessary implementation mechanisms of the adopted decisions.

Nowadays it is necessary to safeguard the CIS land borders, to consider the state of anti-aircraft troops, because air borders of many CIS member-states are unprotected. "We shall have to solve a whole set of other problems to embody the concept of the CIS collective security, the defence union, of which President Boris Yeltsin spoke in April," Ivashov said.

Agreement on Cooperation of CIS Working Bodies Signed

WS2207105293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] One more important step toward the creation of an effective mechanism of cooperation of the CIS working bodies has been made. In St. Petersburg, CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Karatchenya and Mikhail Krotaw, chairman of the Secretariat of the Council of the CIS Inter Legislative Assembly, have signed an agreement on the interaction of these organs. The document establishes a legal basis for the already existing good relations between the working collectives of these CIS organs.

CIS Executive Secretary on Economic Union

WS2207063093 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Karatchenya: "Tripartite Union. A Step Forward?"]

[Text] Two reports that appeared in the mass media within a period of a couple of days could not but rivet the attention of the public. One report was from Istanbul and the other from Moscow. Both dealt with burning issues of economic integration of the former USSR republics. Both questioned the results of CIS agreements on the creation of an economic union, signed by nine leaders of Commonwealth states.

Let me briefly recall the results of the Istanbul conference of the leaders of the states that are members of the Organization of Economic Cooperation [OEC]. As it was reported, along with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan attended. A unanimous declaration was adopted at the conference, in which the OEC's main goal was depicted as safeguarding the social and economic wellbeing of its members. The final document pointed out that the participants at the conference agreed to enhance the role of free enterprise in order to boost the process of the integration of the OEC states with the world economy.

Projects approved in Istanbul include those on the development of transport infrastructure and telephone communications, cooperation in science and technology, and the removal of custom barriers hampering trade. Construction of roads was called a priority task aimed at granting access to the sea for countries that have no sea borders. Other priorities include the creation of a bank for development and trade, of an institute of culture, the introduction of most favored nation status for OEC members, and granting free flow of capital and workers.

The participants at the conference agreed to open joint OEC coordinative organs—an airline and a shipping company in Iran, an insurance company in Pakistan, and a bank for trade and development in Turkey.

While assessing the results of the discussion in Istanbul and the documents signed there as "a firm foundation for the creation of another large economic union," Kazakh President Nazarbayev and Kyrgyz President Akayev pointed out the importance of "mutually advantageous cooperation between the OEC and the CIS for the benefit of all nations" and that the experience of interstate relations within the CIS may be useful for the OEC.

What happened in Moscow? The prime ministers of three Slav states gathered there, conferred for a while, as they did a year and a half ago in the Belovezhskaya forest, and decided to adopt a joint declaration. The declaration does not offer any new ideas, unusual approaches, or unexpected proposals. The declaration contains all the provisions of the treaty on the creation of an economic union. While reading the text of this document one may notice that the prime ministers have managed to resolve a number of problems that were the subject of heated debates, including the issues in which participants have advocated their specific stance, in particular the issue of creating coordinating organs.

It is very relevant that the prime ministers acknowledged that the adequacy of economic systems is a necessary condition for integration. This means lifting tariff and non-tariff barriers in trade and economic relations, the creation of a customs union with a single customs space, and in the future, the creation of a common market of goods, services, and capital. It is symptomatic that an epithet "harsh" has been used for the first time in a CIS document with reference to the most important and delicate sphere—that of financial relations. The agreement envisions harsh coordination of the policy in the spheres of issuing loans and printing money, including the establishment of a standardized budget deficit ceiling.

Numerous adversaries of Belarus joining the collective security treaty and advocates of Ukrainian sovereignty were surprised at the unanimous acknowledgement by the prime ministers that "economic integration cannot be achieved in isolation, without broad comprehensive cooperation in the fields of politics, defense, and legislation."

Does this mean that the economic union of nine states has been rejected and that the idea on its creation has repeated the fate of many useful but not implemented CIS projects? Is the existence of the CIS not threatened by the fact that its members overtly grouped in accordance with their Muslim or Slav origin? I am not going to make any forecasts, because forecasts are an ungrateful thing in big politics. However, as a person involved in many events in the Commonwealth, I am not indifferent to its fate and I do not quite understand the haste demonstrated by the prime ministers and their unmasked striving to counter the Istanbul move of the Asian republics with an equally strong move of the Slav states. Would it not be better to gather at a common table and resolve all the problems of the day, like normal families do? Today, it is hard to say what has prevailed in the Moscow move—concern over the economy paralyzed by the crisis or regular political calculations. I have no doubt that time will bring answers to these questions.

Arguments used by the signatories to the "tripartite union" in order to justify this determined step seem unconvincing to me. They said that there was no chance to create an economic union of nine states, because CIS members have been lacking accord and mutual understanding and there was no hope left for the situation to change in the near future. However, the prime ministers must have known that virtually all the disputable issues had been resolved at the 1 July Coordinative-Consulting Council session. The document was sent to CIS governments for final signature before the presidential summit.

Now, let us see what is the authors' vision of the legal basis of a broad union, its "pillars" and "roof," compared to the construction suggested by the three prime ministers.

Speaking in terms of official documents, both the small and the big unions see their aim as creating conditions for the stable development of the economies of their members and, in the future, creating a single economic space on the basis of market relations. This means the free flow of goods, services, capital, and workers, a single customs space, and a coordinated policy with regard to loans, budget, prices, and foreign economic relations. At first glance, this means a return to the previous state of things. However, this is a purely superficial resemblance—the new consolidation is supposed to be made on a strictly voluntary and mutually advantageous market basis.

The authors of the project distinguish several stages of building a new union. Each stage will move their states from simple forms of cooperation to more elaborate forms. First, through interstate association of free trade, the abolition of quotas, taxes, and licenses, through the introduction of single tariffs, the gradual formation of a customs union is envisioned. Lifting the barriers hampering the development of interaction among the producers will lead to the formation of a common market. Finally, when a full-scale union is formed with a single market of goods, services, and capital, a single monetary and banking system will be created and facilitate implementation of a common economic policy.

Each stage depends on a number of factors. For example, a free trade zone cannot be introduced without coordinating and standardizing the prices, because otherwise, goods from "cheap" areas will flow to more "expensive" areas regardless of all the borders.

A customs union will not be possible without a coordinated policy toward third states, and a common market will not exist without a joint investment and social policy. However, these issues cannot be resolved by even the most organized voting and by the adoption of separate legal acts. These things demand time and patient and diligent work. Only these conditions can grant vitality to any union.

The draft "treaty of nine" envisages a package of measures, whose implementation will be provided for in separate agreements. In the experts' opinion, the package of accompanying documents should consist of 15 agreements regulating relations between the states in the sphere of mutual interests. These agreements will, in fact, be the legal mechanism for the realization of the honorable ideas and principles of the union. Such a package cannot be omitted also during the realization of the "treaty of three."

Some documents are inevitable in order to build the structure of an economic union. I will name some of them. These are agreements on common conditions and mechanisms of supporting cooperation in the sphere of production, development of direct ties between enterprises, standardizing tariff and non-tariff measures in the framework of free trade, and coordinating the policy of prices and taxes. It is not a secret that one of the most complicated problems of the CIS is that of regulating credit, financial, and convertible currency relations. No matter what variant of a common economic space will be chosen, these problems will have to be resolved anyway.

Both the Istanbul meeting and the "Moscow weekend" of the prime ministers have demonstrated all over again that the independent states resemble boats that once hurried away from an old big ship and then, having enjoyed all the pleasures of lonesome sailing, are now trying to get together again. The recent meetings have demonstrated that even the most ardent advocates of "virgin independence" are now ready to give it up and pass certain functions to transnational structures. Life has proved that independence and sovereignty have little in common with political and economic isolation. This is even more true with regard to former union republics that have shared a common fate for decades. Their attempts to reach the desired shore of plenty and progress all by themselves, in most cases have proved to be futile. Judge for yourself. According to official statistics, the volume of industrial production in the CIS has decreased by 18 percent in 1992, while in the sphere of capital construction the figure is 45 percent. This process was more painful in Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The first half of 1993 has brought another 16 percent decrease in industry. The volume of foreign trade between the CIS members and the third states have dropped by 22 percent, consumer goods production has gone down by 10 percent. At the same time, retail prices have increased ninefold and the number of unemployed have reached some 1 million people.

In experts' opinion, one of the main reasons behind the developing paralysis of the economy of newly independent states is the destruction of former economic ties. The restoration of these ties on a new mutually advantageous basis has become the number one task for every state. As Ukrainian Prime Minister Kuchma once said: "A year of our states' independence has demonstrated their total mutual dependence."

In light of this, I would like to draw your attention to one aspect. The opponents of unions and broad integration are placing an emphasis on bilateral relations. Afraid of the revival of the former command center, they consider bilateral relations a sufficient and the only possible form of cooperation among the former USSR republics. However, the two years that have passed after the divorce have persuasively proved that criticism of the drawbacks of the former system is much easier than the practical establishment of new economic relations. Independent states have found themselves in a paradoxical situation, when the single center ceased to exist and without the conductor, even duets started to play out of tune. The reason is plain to see—bilateral relations cannot solve the problems of our closely intertwined and mutually dependent economic systems. We need full-scale integration that would stipulate not only trade on favorable terms but also broad cooperation and even division of labor within the framework of a single economic space. This space can be restored on a market basis by means of a multipartite union, no matter whether it consolidates three or nine states. There has been enough material evidence in support of this idea.

For example, Ukraine can reach an agreement with Belarus on the direct purchase of tractors and MAZ trucks. However, Belarus cannot fulfill the agreement without Russian enterprises that produce 70 percent of the components of these machines. Thus, a whole chain of contracts would have to be signed with Russian enterprises. Yet, Uzbek, Kazakh, and Tajik enterprises also contribute to the production of trucks. The coordination of this system of agreements without common favorable conditions in the spheres of customs, taxes, transport and the like, has turned out to be practically impossible. If superficial political considerations are rejected, the only alternative to the economic union is transition to an isolated subsistence economy. The modern world does not know any examples of efficient functioning of this kind of economy—be it Albania or North Korea. Attempts by some leaders of the newly independent states to abolish objective economic laws, as was once done by Bolsheviks, and limit relations among our states to bilateral contacts, are doomed to failure.

This is why the idea of creating a firm framework in order to safeguard equal conditions for entrepreneurship and business within the CIS, seems logical and timely.

There exists one more aspect—both the treaty and the declaration view the unification of legislation regulating economic relations as one of the conditions of success.

First of all, these are legal acts facilitating the free flow of goods, services, workers, and capital; standardizing taxes and prices, regulating civil, transport, and antimonopoly legislations. Discrepancies and drawbacks in already existing documents must be corrected if they hamper the development of a single economic space. National legislatures will have to perform this strenuous task.

In my opinion, committees in charge of economy should immediately draft a list of legal acts that would facilitate the fruitful participation of Belarus in the economic union. If we are truly concerned with market reforms, if we genuinely want Belarus to recover and overcome the crisis, we should put aside our political ambitions and devote the rest of our "deputies life" to diligent work on drafting laws. The fate of the program of the creation of a single economic space to a great extent depends on real active support from the legislatures of the Commonwealth.

CIS Secretary Comments on Shaposhnikov

PM2107151593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, by Arkadiy Khantsevich and Igor Chernyak, in Moscow; date not given: "Where has the Commander in Chief Gone?"]

[Text] "The CIS Joint Armed Forces do not exist and their creation in the near future is problematical." These words uttered by Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, at the CIS Council of Defense Ministers session 15 June caused a sensation: Within half an hour the leading news agencies broadcast them to the whole world.

At the High Command itself, the commander's comment and his suggestion essentially to abolish his own brainchild induced a state close to shock. After all, for almost a whole year the marshal of aviation had been insisting until the very last moment on the complete opposite.

According to eyewitness recollections, on the eve of the 15 June meeting there was no hint of the surprise that was in store. On the instructions of the Council of Heads of State the commander in chief prepared a draft Treaty on the CIS Joint Armed Forces and the main guidelines for strengthening the Commonwealth's defense capability and was intending to fly to the capitals of the sovereign states. Then the marshal was summoned to see the Russian president. He returned from that meeting a changed man. He canceled the trip, did not even touch the documents, and hardly waited for 15 June before announcing his resignation—"after long reflection and in the interests of Russia." At the same time Shaposhnikov announced that Boris Yeltsin had spoken with all the heads of the CIS states and they had decided that the post of commander in chief was to be abolished and the High Command itself would be turned into a staff. This effectively signaled the demise of the very idea of the Joint Armed Forces so fervently supported by Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. His entire year's work was declared irrelevant. The remarkable thing is that the commander in chief was instructed to talk about all this, which is what he unhesitatingly did. After doing so he left the High Command in a Defense Ministry Mercedes.

When we called on the CIS Joint Armed Forces headquarters we were struck by the emptiness of the corridors and the atmosphere of depression. The officer escorting us smiled sadly: "The cat has abandoned the kittens." There was another, terser comment: "The commander has dumped us, he ran out just as soon as he was offered a better post."

It was with this episode that our conversation with Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, began.

[Ivashov] I do not want to judge the actions of Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov because I do not know all the circumstances of the case and I do not know what he talked about with the Russian president. But from the political viewpoint it seems to me that it would have been more correct for him to have tendered his resignation as commander in chief and given his successor the right to resolve the questions that consequently emerged. Of course, you cannot condemn a man for accepting another job—ultimately that is his personal affair—especially since Russia's interests are involved here too and Yevgeniy Ivanovich was always devoted to them. Nevertheless, his departure could have been more dignified.

As for the demoralization of the High Command personnel, that is natural, in my view. A year ago people believed in the new formation, in the idea that they could help the military integration of the CIS states and prevent the final destruction of something that had taken decades to create, and, most important, that they could support those people who through the will of fate found themselves in other states far from their ethnic homeland. It was those ideas that our officers brought here with them, that was what they were working for, and when they are suddenly told that everything that they have served is no longer needed by anyone, I consider that immoral.

Especially since over the year the High Command did quite a lot. It is no coincidence that the division of the armed forces has not been chaotic—like, for example, what has happened in the economy or other spheres—but has been more or less civilized. There are over 120 mutual accords and agreements—that too is largely the work of the High Command. These efforts have yielded results—we can now see a move toward integration, toward gathering stones together.

I would stress that the High Command did not act on its own initiative alone. I took part in all the sessions of the Council of Heads of State and saw the concern of the presidents at the state of the defense capability. It was bluntly stated that we have our sovereignties but nothing to defend them with. Nursultan Nazarbayev constantly pursues a line of integration in the military sphere, and I would single out Islam Karimov here too. In this connection the Russian president's statement of 16 April

1993 on the need to create a defensive union of the CIS countries seems logical. Thus by creating a collective security system we were carrying out the will of the heads of state, believing that since such a system, based on NATO, exists in Europe, the CIS should have something similar. The assumption was that these two systems would cooperate and thereby bring stability to the Eurasian region.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Leonid Grigoryevich, we have been informed that the Russian defense minister has decided that in the near future part of the Russian Defense Ministry apparatus is going to be relocated here to Leningradskiy Prospekt. Pavel Grachev has apparently stated that only like-minded people will be coming along with him and that Deputy Ministers Kokoshin, Kondratyev, and Toporov and their subordinates are now preparing for the move here. At the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command they are also saying that an office is being prepared here for Boris Gromov on his personal orders, although Grachev did not mention him. What do you think about the situation that has developed?

[Ivashov] I personally have not seen the documents on the transfer of a part of the Defense Ministry to the CIS Joint Armed Forces headquarters. Possibly these are rumors, although some subdivisions of the Russian Defense Ministry which have moved here are expanding. Nevertheless, I have to point out that the High Command's present address is recorded in a number of documents from sessions of the CIS Council of Heads of State. This location was not chosen by Shaposhnikov; we were not given this building for reasons of charity. This was a decision of the Council of Heads of State, and furthermore the headquarters has been given interstate status. If someone wants to resolve the question by strong-arm methods he risks provoking an unfavorable reaction from the CIS countries' presidents. After all, if they made this decision, and that includes the president of Russia, whose signature is also on the documents, then the seizure [zakhvat] of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command can be qualified as exceeding official powers.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In a recent interview a high-ranking staffer of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command stated that ever since the formation of the High Command all its initiatives have been blocked by Russia, even when this was contrary to common sense. The Russian defense minister ostentatiously ignored the High Command and came here just once during the year. Many people put this down to the mutual animosity between Pavel Grachev and Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. If that is so, is this not a case in which personal interests have prevailed over society's interests, and has a major policy not been sacrificed to relations between two military leaders?

[Ivashov] The Russian defense minister did indeed visit us only once, but he did also attend sessions of the Council of Defense Ministers in other states, but I would not talk about the personal likes and dislikes of Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov and Army General Grachev here. Clearly that is not the most important thing. There are two possibilities here: Either the Russian Defense Ministry has a different position with regard to the collective security system, or there is some misunderstanding of the High Command's activity.

In addition, I would not say that our initiatives have been torpedoed by Russia. President Yeltsin has created a very favorable impression with regard to military integration at sessions of the CIS Council of Heads of State: He signs all the documents and initiates many of them. We also always receive support from the Interparliamentary Assembly and many deputies consider that it is time to stop destroying things and begin building them.

But the Defense Ministry's position arouses questions. It turns out that the Russian Federation president and parliament say one thing but the Russian Federation Defense Ministry leadership does the complete opposite. Either Russia is playing some great and cunning game, which I do not especially believe, or certain officials do not read the documents which the state leaders sign, or these officials have sufficient powers to revoke decisions of the president and parliament.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Many at the High Command believe that the decision on transformations in the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command and the scrapping of the post of commander in chief proposed by Shaposhnikov 15 June are unlawful. The fact that it was signed by all the military departments apart from Kazakhstan's is put down to the state of shock that they were in. Do you share this viewpoint too?

[Ivashov] In the first place I believe that what happened 15 June cannot be called a session of the Council of Defense Ministers. Article 15 of the Council of Defense Ministers standing orders clearly states: The Council is authorized to resolve questions only when at least one-half of its members, that is, defense ministers, are present. On 15 June there was not a single one there. In the second place it is written there that all procedural questions must be resolved on a basis of consensus. On 15 June the Kazakhstan representative refused to sign and thus the decision has no force, but why did the others sign it? The fact is that the representatives of the defense ministries were told that all the questions had been coordinated with their heads of state. The military are disciplined people, they were told that the leadership approved, so they signed, but then it suddenly emerged that President Yeltsin coordinated with his colleagues only the decision to move Shaposhnikov to the post of head of the Russian Security Council, and even then he did not coordinate it with all of them, which, by the way, offended the others. But there has been no talk at all about any transformations of the High Command or abolition of the post of commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In other words, Marshal Shaposhnikov simply deceived his audience?

[Ivashov] Clearly this was a slip of the tongue. Then we talked with the defense ministers, who repudiated the signatures of their representatives and are now insisting on holding another session of the Council of Defense Ministers. It is to examine progress in fulfilling the instructions of the Council of Heads of State and the expediency of the post of commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. We will probably hold this session before the end of August. The question is quite a serious one: After all, no one thought that some careless actions could spell the collapse of the whole CIS Charter, a considerable part of which was devoted to collective security and military-political cooperation. Thus the fact that some newspapers are now writing about the demise of the High Command does not correspond to the facts. The High Command was created by the Council of Heads of State and its structure was approved by the presidents, and only they together can settle its fate.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Leonid Grigoryevich, you are very cogently defending the expediency of the existence of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. Do you really think that their elimination will be a serious loss to the Commonwealth countries?

[Ivashov] First, I do not believe that there will be a complete collapse. Look: In the economic sphere pragmatic approaches are becoming increasingly apparent. Both the decision on the creation of an economic union adopted 14 May by the CIS heads of state and the recent initiative of the premiers of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine indicate that everyone is fed up with with sovereignties.

Take the air defense system. One of the first agreements adopted within the CIS framework was on its preservation, because it can only operate as an integrated entity. Nevertheless, it was essentially destroyed, again on a Russian Defense Ministry initiative which was perhaps based on a scheme that I know nothing about. Yet it also protects Russia from the south and the west! Surely it would have been more sensible to agree to preserve what existed in the republics with control centers in Russia? I do not know what the Russian Federation Defense Ministry saw wrong with that. As a result the Air Defense Army [armiya PVO] stationed on the territory of five southern states which signed the agreement and partly in Russia, which did not sign it, was privatized by those states along with the command center in Uzbekistan. Now everyone has a small part of the air defense facilities in his hands, but no one has an air defense system and no one can reliably protect his air borders. It is utterly absurd: Take the example of Kazakhstan, which has gotten the interceptors. Why should they belong to it if this plane carries out its interception duties over the territory of another state? Not to mention the fact that Bishkek has neither guidance centers nor detection systems. The paradox is that this shareout is disadvantageous to Russia.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] It seems to us that there are two viewpoints today. They can be expressed roughly like this. The first is that the CIS countries must be friends and cooperate, including in the military sphere. Apart from everything else this is far cheaper than developing your own armed forces single-handed. The second view, which the Russian Federation Defense Ministry defends most persistently of all today, is this: Cooperation, at least today, is inexpedient. Not one of the CIS countries yet has really combat-capable armed forces, there is disorder and anarchy in their military formations, there is an acute shortage of trained cadres, and so forth. So why should Russia, which bears the brunt of the cost of maintaining all the structures of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command, also finance these formations?

[Ivashov] That is approximately right, except that the Russian Federation Defense Ministry puts the emphasis on bilateral relations, but I should like to make a comment. First, not all the armies are demoralized. The combat morale in a number of CIS is no lower and in some cases even higher than in Russia. Second, the process of the organizational development of the armed forces is actively under way today both in Russia and in other CIS states. Some, of course, have greater economic potential and a better situation with cadres, while others have problems with both, but that is how things stand right now. But what about if you take a slightly longer-term view and try to anticipate the consequences in store for us after the final split?

With military cooperation it would be possible to make more effective use of equipment and draft resources, of which there is an abundance in the south and a dearth in Russia, and it would be possible to provide work for our own military-industrial complex enterprises rather than someone else's. Not to mention the fact that if the collective security system in Russia is destroyed, Russia will have to create an entire defense system from scratch—from the monitoring of space and ABM defenses through to covering the state borders—a vast territory. Apart from everything else that means the construction of housing and infrastructure facilities requiring colossal resources, which we simply do not have today. So what is the point of all this?

If everyone in the CIS begins building his own defense he will be forced to think about protection not only against the potential external enemy but also against the former neighbors in the USSR. This will cause a sharp increase not only in the size of the armed forces but also in the quantity of arms and the volume of military spending, but the main thing is that no one will benefit from this because it will merely generate fear of one another.

Nevertheless, there is hope that the dust will settle. New people will come, they are bound to come—intelligent and sensible people not prone to the ideas of confrontation. We intend to uphold our cause.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Jul

LD2207054093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0502 GMT 22 Jul 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 22 ITAR-TASS—The Russian national press does not focus on any one central topic today.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) devoted much space to international and interethnic relations.

Under the heading "Prospects for Man and Nations. According to Fromm" [as received] the paper carries an article by Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, one of the two chambers of the Russian parliament. There is no human being without a nationality and there is no nation without human individuals, Abdulatipov says. Any reform of society must proceed first of all from returning individuality to human beings, and from restoring self-identification and dignity to our unique peoples, well-being and freedom to society, and wisdom and justice to the state. "We are striving for progress towards a democratic society, but our conduct based on old habits can lead to a reverse effect, a new suppression of freedom and responsibility of the individual, freedom and responsibility of nations," he points out.

The same newspaper published prominent publicist Feodor Burlatskiy's discussion of the present state of relations between the leading nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States. He wonders why Kazakhstan did not take part in the recent meeting of the leaders of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia near Moscow and why the Belovezhskaya Pushcha model was repeated, referring to the 1991 meeting of the leaders of the three Slavic republics which effectively killed the Soviet Union and formed the Commonwealth.

"If we are wise, nations which have gone through countless historical trials together with us and who made enormous contribution to the Euro-Asian civilisation will preserve their gains irrespective of the character of their political alliances with Russia," Burlatskiy says. If, however, we choose the road of pan-Slavism or one-sided Europocentrism, our descendants in a few tens of years will find themselves in a different world. In particular, Central Asia will be doomed to incorporation in the zone of influence of Turkey, the Far East—of Japan, and Russia, Ukraine and Belarus—of Germany and Western Europe.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an extensive interview with Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazian, who insists that "the main aim of Armenia's foreign policy is to fins a civilized solution to the Karabakh problem".

PRAVDA publishes an article by former secretary of the Russian National Security Council Yuriy Skokov discussing Russia's national security concept and military doctrine. According to Skokov, a state security concept should be based on the following principles: "The state should first of all protect what is of vital importance to the individual, human rights and freedoms. Secondly, it must protect its civic society. And thirdly, it must protect the state as such, i.e. territorial integrity and statehood."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries an article devoted to the lessons of Afghanistan and recent developments on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. "Time has come to raise the question about instability spreading from the south and posing a threat not to Russia alone. The international community must counteract this danger in its own interests. This is why it is just to propose that CIS troops be sent into Tajikistan under the flag of the United Nations peace-keeping force, the newspaper suggests.

The newspaper trud publishes a report from Chisinau, capital of Moldova, about the effect of galloping prices which affect not only the local inhabitants but also diplomatic missions: Kodru Hotel housing numerous diplomatic missions which have yet to acquire their own compounds in Chisinau nearly trebled all prices for its services to foreign diplomats from July 1.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a report on its front page saying that Russia is facing a threat of an epidemic of tuberculosis.

The newspaper "CHAS PIK" (PIQUE HOUR) informs its readers that the famous book house in Nevskiy Prospekt offers space for rent to German offices. The city council has rented 480 square meters of floorspace in the building to Peter-Invest joint-stock company for 350 million roubles.

Spanish Defense Minister on Official Visit

Arrives in Moscow

LD2107141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1404 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Spanish Defence Minister Julian Garcia Vargas arrived in Russia on Wednesday for an official visit at the invitation of his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev.

While on a visit, which is to last until July 25, the Spanish military delegation is expected to have talks with the Russian defence minister and the chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, Mikhail Kolesnikov. The Spanish defence minister will also visit the General Staff military academy and the St. Petersburg naval academy, as well as tour the town of Sergiyev-Pasad.

The present visit by Garcia Vargas is intended to further develop the ties between the two Defence Ministries, the foundation for which was laid down in October 1992 during a visit by the Russian defence minister to Spain. At the time, Vargas and Grachev met in Madrid for talks which resulted in signing a protocol on cooperation between the Russian and Spanish armed forces. The protocol reflected the aspiration of both countries for the development of relations in the defence sphere and outlined a concrete plan for the enhancement of links between the two Defence Ministries, covering the period from 1993-1994. The sides also agreed to set up a Russo-Spanish working group to coordinate cooperation in the defence sphere.

Meets With Grachev

LD2207105093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1033 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Army General Pavel Grachev met his Spanish opposite number Julian Garcia Vargas here today to discuss the military political situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States and NATO's peacekeeping activity in Yugoslavia.

Responding to the visitor's request to brief him on the military political situation in the former Soviet Union, Grachev spoke about Ukraine's nuclear stance, relations between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus concerning nuclear weapons on their territories, the need to strengthen Commonwealth borders in the south and Russia's relations with Caucasian and Baltic countries.

Grachev said that Ukrainian Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov's order 050 dated July 3, 1993 "On the Status of Objects "S" Deployed in Ukraine" testifies to the fact that Ukraine has in fact proclaimed itself a nuclear power.

Grachev noted that General Morozov has scrapped all the directives of the Russian defence minister concerning the nuclear technical installations in Ukraine and the disbandment of their personnel. Instead the above order transfers them to the Ukrainian 43rd Missile Army, Grachev said.

Morozov ordered new supplies and logistics support for these units and installations and had a new organizational and personnel structure created to implement a series of measures connected with the storage of nuclear-missile systems.

The preamble to the Ukrainian minister's order says it was prompted by the aggravated situation around the storage of the nuclear weapons in the Republic. Morozov referred to efforts of the Russian military to restore order in these units and at the installations as "Russian pressure aimed at forcing Ukraine to recognise strategic nuclear forces in Ukraine as part of Russia's property", Grachev said.

Grachev said he doubted that the Ukrainian military would be able to carry out all the necessary organizational and technical measures connected with objects "S".

The minister said questions relating to the status of nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan and Belarus are now being resolved.

The Russian minister said the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan needed further enhancement of protection by Russian border troops and units of the 201st Motor Rifle Division of the Russian Federation in order to block the spread of militant Islamism from Tajikistan to other Central Asian republics and towards Russian borders.

Grachev said Russia is now considering the establishment of two Russian military bases in Armenia in response to a request from the Armenian Government, he said. "We shall probably pursue this course of building military bases in those Commonwealth countries which ask us to do so", Grachev said.

According to the Russian minister, no cooperation in the military field can develop between Russia and Georgia unless the conflicts are settled in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and relevant agreements are signed.

In the Baltics, Russia has successfully resolved the problem of the withdrawal of its troops only with Lithuania, where Russian-speaking inhabitants get equal rights with Lithuanians, Grachev said. He supported the Russian president's decision to suspend the pullout of Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia until these countries solve the problem of the rights of their Russian-speaking inhabitants.

Julian Garcia Vargas told the Russian minister about of the member-countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation aimed at settling the conflict in former Yugoslavia and help implement United Nations Security Council resolutions on peace-keeping. [sentence as received]

Sevastopol Prepared To Fight 'Weapon in Hand'

PM2107141993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1,5

[Leonid Kapelyushnyy report: "Sevastopol: Who Is Behind the Ninth Wave"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] **It Is Dangerous To Oversimplify the Situation**

The fortress city of Sevastopol is also called the powder keg of the Crimea. A smoldering fuse has now been brought into contact with it—either to frighten the people or to wreck peace in earnest not only in the Crimea and not only between Ukraine and Russia.

The situation was undoubtedly exacerbated and put on full cock by the Russian Supreme Soviet decree. But fairness requires me to say that the situation was created not by Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, but by the deadlocked problem of the Black Sea Fleet and rampant separatism in the Crimea.

If we lived in a rule-of-law state and our citizens (in Russia or Ukraine) had a minimum level of legal culture, Khasbulatov's decree would not be worth a cent. One Crimean newspaper said with irony that taking Sevastopol away from Ukraine is the same as Genoa deciding to recover its former fortress of Sudak. Or Turkey remembering that it once owned Ochakov or Khadzhibey, the Poles—Lvov, and so on. But the point is that we are banking on our fellow citizens' innate notion of law and legality. And those gathered at the [16 July Nakhimov Square] assembly definitely do not give a damn that the world community has condemned Russian legislators' aggressive attack on Ukraine, that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet declared it devoid of legal force, and the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Russian president himself unequivocally described this step as destabilizing to interstate relations and provocative. Because, in the opinion of the demonstrators, "a city of Russian renown cannot ever belong to Ukrainians."

But that is just a start and there is a long way to go. As is customary at rallies of this kind visitors were generously given the floor. Emissaries from other cities in the Crimea congratulated the people of Sevastopol on winning their freedom and returning to Russia. Naturally, on someone's instructions. Look, they said, don't leave us in slavery; Sevastopol is being given the role of a locomotive, it has to haul the whole Crimea off to Russia. "Russian citizens!" the speakers appealed to the square, "Russian citizens, how pleasant that sounds in Sevastopol." Raising clenched fists, they made a sign to the crowd, and the crowd willingly chanted: "Sevastopol! Crimea! Russia!"

"We will not concrete over the border posts, just cover them with a light sprinkling of earth. We will soon move them over the Perekop..."—that was the promise made by one of the leaders of the notorious Russian-speaking "Crimea" movement to an approving roar.

Beyond the Perekop is Ukraine, whose independence was seen by people at the assembly as absurd and its emblems ridiculous, hostile, and unfitting. "We realize that some people in Sevastopol wavered under pressure and were forced to put these lousy tridents in their passports (indicating citizenship—L.K.) but they can be removed without fear now," A. Kruglov roused his fellow townspeople.

It is this detail—the rejection of Ukrainian sovereignty—that links the Sevastopol rally with the Russian Supreme Soviet. Only the parliament sticks to etiquette, while a rally is a rally...

How many times was it said that the participants in the assembly are willing to use any means to uphold their right to be part of Russia. God help the Ukrainians if they prevent that—Sevastopol is not short on courage. The National Salvation Front has begun forming volunteer people's militias...

During a Sevastopol television broadcast a presenter put the following question to the participants in the debate: Do they admit the possibility of bloodshed? Can blood be the price for an indivisible fleet, for a Sevastopol under a Russian or a Ukrainian flag? I honestly admit that I was frightened when A. Kruglov and his comrade-in-arms V. Suprunenko assiduously avoided the actual word "blood" and said that they are ready for anything. "The logic is that if the sides do not reach agreement, we could fight weapon in hand."

With weapon in hand Aleksandr Kruglov and his comrades will try to implement the Russian Supreme Soviet decree. If the Russian parliament was trying to achieve that result, it can be congratulated: Its goal has been achieved.

It goes without saying that red flags were fluttering over the square, passionate calls were heard for the revival of the USSR, mercenary democrats were slandered, and so on. They have "their" locomotive (or armored train) standing on the main track, but the rails have not regrettably been laid ahead and the locomotive cannot go into reverse. So let them talk.. But it is naive (and dangerous!) to oversimplify the Sevastopol situation. Even if the assembly organizers were seeing treble and proclaimed that over 30,000 townspeople gathered on the square, whereas there were in fact around 6,000. And the fact is that are in the mood not to obey Ukrainian laws and the legal authorities in the city.

How will events develop next?

Ivan Yermakov, head of the city administration and the Ukrainian president's representative in Sevastopol, considers the situation critical, but not hopeless. He sees the solution as lying in seeking mutual understanding with the opposition, in dialogue, in resolving the Crimea's problems most speedily at interstate level, and in the Russian Supreme Soviet reviewing its decision. Things are not easy for Yermakov: The city's radicals think that he is a poor defender of Sevastopol's interests, while Ukrainian patriots consider him weak in guarding the state's interests. Someone recently blasted his windows with either a homemade weapon or a combat weapon. Ivan Fedorovich is sticking to common sense, which consists in ensuring that guns do not start firing... [passage omitted]

UNSC Discussion of Decree Viewed

PM2107194593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Boris Rodionov: "UN Security Council Condemns Russian Parliament's Decree on Sevastopol"]

[Text] Despite the doubts expressed in diplomatic circles, the UN Security Council nonetheless examined Tuesday Ukraine's complaint relating to Sevastopol. As usual in such complex situations, instead of adopting a numbered resolution, it opted for a statement by the Security Council chairman at a scheduled session. The Russian Supreme Soviet decree "On the Status of the City of Sevastopol" was declared invalid, an ITAR-TASS correspondent reported from the United Nations.

As was noted in the previous edition of IZVESTIYA, people on Smolensk Square [site of Russian Foreign Ministry building] evidently reckoned that the Security Council would regard Kiev's appeal to the United Nations as unfounded, in view of the fact that the Russian leadership had unequivocally condemned the Russian Supreme Soviet decision to place Sevastopol under Moscow's jurisdiction and had confirmed that the Russian Federation had no territorial claims at all on Ukraine. But the complaint from the banks of the Dnepr was given the go-ahead in the United Nations, which, incidentally indicates the young Ukrainian state's growing international prestige.

After that—before the start of the Security Council session—a Russian Foreign Ministry document was circulated at the United Nations. It says, in part: "Without playing down the adverse consequences of administrative decisions by the leadership of the former USSR on territorial matters, it should again be stressed that all problems, no matter how complex, must be resolved within the framework of political dialogue, taking into account the views and interests of the different groups of the population and strictly observing treaties and agreements with the Ukrainian side and the principles of the CSCE and the United Nations."

Yuliy Vorontsov, the Russian Federation's permanent representative at the United Nations, addressed the session and stressed: "The president and government of the Russian Federation have been and will be guided by the treaties and agreements with Ukraine. In particular when it comes to respecting one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

In his statement D. Hannay (Britain), chairman of the Security Council, cited the provision of the Russian-Ukrainian treaty of 1990 whereby the sides pledged to respect one another's territorial integrity "within the framework of the existing borders." The counterargument to the effect that territorial inegrity was guaranteed by the treaty within the borders that existed within the framework of the USSR was not considered. This should cool the hotheads who were assuring us that the evaluation in international law would unequivocally confirm the validity of the Russian White House's claims to Sevastopol.

The Security Council, in the statement by its chairman, welcomed the efforts by the presidents and governments of Russia and Ukraine "to settle any differences between them by peaceful means" and made an urgent appeal for "all steps to be taken to prevent tension arising."

Tension has already arisen, of course, and removing it will not be easy. Particularly as in Moscow, Kiev, and Sevastopol national-patriots are seeking to make swift political capital out of the painful consequences of the administrative decisions on Crimea by the leadership of the former USSR. But all sensible forces must learn a vital lesson from the Security Council's reaction. It is to be hoped that after the summer vacation, having thought good and hard and considered the international community's position, the Russian Supreme Soviet will reconsider its decree on the status of Sevastopol.

Reaction to Tajik-Afghan Border Incident Continues

Military Assistance May Be Provided

LD2107195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations July 21 TASS—Russia notified the U.N. Security Council that it was ready to render military assistance to Tajikistan in case of attacks by Afghan militants, the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement circulated on Wednesday [21 July] in the U.N. headquarters as a Security Council document.

On July 13, the statement reads, armed formations of Tajik opposition forces and Afghan mojahedin numbering over 200 fighters attacked from Afghan territory the 12th frontier post of Russian border troops in Tajikistan. The attackers plundered and burnt down the mountainous village of Sarigor on Tajik territory. The document quotes the Russian Interior Ministry as qualifying this brutal action as "an act of aggression against Russian border troops and the Tajik Republic, a CIS sovereign country and U.N. member-state, which is linked with Russia by means of close treaty commitments.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry is authorized to declare that Russian border troops and the 201st division deployed in Tajikistan will act with all resoluteness and use, in full compliance with Russia's commitments, the whole arsenal of military equipment at their disposal", the statement points out. "Proceeding from the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan, the Russian side reaffirms its readiness to render the necessary assistance to Tajikistan, including the military one, as a matter of exercising the right to collective defence in accordance with Article 51 of the U.N. Charter".

General Gromov Interviewed

MK2107131093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No.30, 25 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 20 Jul) p A11

[Interview with Colonel General Boris Gromov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, by Sanobar Shermatova, on Arbat Street in Moscow under the "Leaders" rubric; date not given]

[Text] This spacious room in an old building on Staryy Arbat Street used to be occupied by celebrated commanders—Marshal Zhukov and Marshal Malinovskiy, former defense ministers of the USSR. Its current occupant holds a special place in Russia's military elite. He withdrew the 40th Army from Afghanistan, thus putting an end to the 10-year war, as they used to write at that time. But Afghanistan is once again a subject of war reports: Russian border guards and soldiers die on the Afghan-Tajik border.

[Shermatova] Do you think it advisable for Russian border guards and army units to stay in Tajikistan?

[Gromov] There is an agreement signed by Tajikistan and Russia under which Russia is obligated to provide assistance to its southern neighbor, not only militarily but also economically. But Russians have been systematically killed there, our border guards have been taken hostage—all this means that Russia, in my view, should look at the situation differently.

There is a local draft reserve in the republic, young men just like Russian ones, and they are obligated to serve their motherland. I think that other republics that signed the agreement on the joint protection of the Tajik-Afghan border should also comply with their obligations. Russia alone has completely fulfilled this requirement. Uzbekistan has done so to a certain extent. Kyrgyzia and Kazakhstan, however, cite the fact that their legislation forbids them to do so. It looks as if Russia has more at stake in Tajikistan than the countries that have been affected by the Tajik situation in the first place—Kyrgyzia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan.

The 12th border post was attacked by gunmen from the Tajik and Afghan sides, and unless they get a kick in the teeth this brazen impudence will continue. Russian border guards fight to the bitter end, but they are also shot in the back from the territory of Tajikistan, and local authorities must safeguard their rear.

[Shermatova] The latest session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet proved that the Tajik leaders are preoccupied with internal squabbles and the struggle for power. In a situation like this they make unreliable allies. Doesn't it seem to you that Russian bayonets are simply propping up the current regime?

[Gromov] Russian troops do not prop up anybody, and once we withdraw the 201st Division, Russian border troops will leave on the same day. What this step would result in is easy to predict: a massacre in the republic. The 201st Division does not back any specific part of the population or any single party—this is strictly forbidden for it. It performs its main task—it helps the republic set up its own armed forces, and protects its border and facilities of key importance, such as the Nurek hydroelectric power station. If the hydroelectric power station dam is blown up, say, this will be a catastrophe not for Tajikistan alone.

[Shermatova] Presently, many people are certain that Central Asia is on the brink of a second Afghan war. There is no sealing the Tajik-Afghan border throughout its length; there are secret paths high in the mountains that are hard to control. The current authorities had promised amnesty to the Tajik gunmen some time ago, but drove them over the Afghan border with tanks instead. Given this, the gunmen are bound to return home armed, trying to destroy their enemies. They will be opposed by Russian, Uzbek, Tajik, and possibly, in the future, by Kazakhstani and Kyrgyz units. The experience of Afghanistan showed, however, that such wars may last for years.

[Gromov] I would not draw such analogies. Yes, politically, the situation looks alike: there are tribes and clans fighting for power in Afghanistan, and regional communities in Tajikistan. It is not my task to figure out who is right and who is wrong—let them straighten this out by themselves. We support a lawful government, with which we have agreements and treaties.

[Shermatova] Boris Vsevolodovich, would you shed light on one development: Whose helicopters and aircraft that bombed the outskirts of the Tajik city of Kafarnikhon and a village in Garm Rayon last December?

[Gromov] I have nothing to say in that regard, because the politicians cannot say anything about it either.

[Shermatova] The Russian military has been accused of engaging in conflicts not only in Tajikistan, but also on the side of the Abkhazians against the Georgians, and, formerly, of helping the Dniester Region.

[Gromov] These are charges made by interest groups.

[Shermatova] It may be so. But Russian interests are sufficiently transparent. The Dniester Region is an industrially and geopolitically important hub. Abkhazia provides access to the sea at a time when Russia lost its Baltic and Black Sea ports. Tajikistan is of strategic and geopolitical importance.

[Gromov] There cannot be any other solution to all these conflicts except for a political one. Bludgeoning will not do this; this is an axiom. The more actively you use force, the longer the massacre continues. No United Nations troops or Russian peacekeeping units will help until the warring factions sit down at the negotiating table and say: let us cease fire and withdraw troops. This cannot be decided by generals—it is politicians who must step in.

There are Russian troops in Georgia, and they cannot be withdrawn at once. They defend Russian facilities in Abkhazia, the unique laboratory in Eshery, families of servicemen. Yes, Russia indeed is being accused of all the troubles. But this is so only because they need to find someone to blame for their own mistakes. It is hard to say: "Yes, it's my fault, I brought in the troops, and this was the underlying reason for the hostilities."

[Shermatova] Do you mean Georgia?

[Gromov] I won't say this... I do not name anybody specifically. It is important to understand that Russian troops are not engaged in combat operations anywhere.

[Shermatova] And what weapons do the sides use to do the fighting?

[Gromov] The weapons that had been in operational service in their armies.

[Shermatova] But they scarcely had any armies at all.

[Gromov] A huge quantity of weapons has been seized by armed robberies.

[Shermatova] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI reported incidents of the sale of Russian weapons by Russian servicemen.

[Gromov] There may have been such instances, there is no denying this. Such rogues existed and exist still.

[Shermatova] You are finishing a book on Afghanistan, in which, as I have learned, you are quoting unique documents about the bringing of Soviet troops into this country.

[Gromov] I would not like to speak about these documents, because all rights to the book are reserved by a German publishing house. The book will be published in German and, maybe, in Russian. I was in Afghanistan at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the war, and spent a total of five and a half years there. The books contains what I lived and thought through.

[Shermatova] Boris Vsevolodovich, you draw mixed assessments from your colleagues. On the one hand, they respect you for decisiveness and professionalism. On the other, they consider you a ruthless man. A group of senior officers, the so-called "derzhavniki" [strong state advocates], are orienting themselves toward you. What is your attitude to this word?

[Gromov] The most positive one. What kind of man, or soldier, is one if he does not make a stand for his state?

[Shermatova] How do you spend your leisure time?

[Gromov] I take care of my children; my younger son has finished seventh grade, two daughters have moved up to third. We frequent our summer house, go to theaters, visit relatives and friends—we have been on friendly terms with the Kobzons [the family of a popular Russian singer] since Afghanistan. I am already a grandfather—my elder son has twins, a daughter and a son. My wife and I are happy in our family and with our friends.

Implications of Conflict Viewed

PM2207101593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Golts article: "Easy To Frighten People With Another 'Afghan.' Far Harder To Actually Stop It. To Stop Our Children Having To Fight Near Orenburg or Chelyabinsk"]

[Text] It has long been remarked that the word "Afghan" has acquired a special meaning in our national consciousness. It is not a question of the name of the state or the wind that suddenly starts blowing from the south. It is a question of a state of bloody, totally uncontrolled anarchy, a very fierce struggle for power and spheres of influence. For us this is synonymous with relentless civil wars, involvement in which spells national disaster.

Now the word "Afghan" is once again being heard in political statements and once again appearing in newspapers. The loss of the Russian border guard detail has not only rocked the country. The response to this tragedy confirms how unprepared we—the authorities and society—are to make a fitting response to the new challenges arising in the post-Soviet area.

It is quite understandable why many people are now wondering: "Why are our guys dying thousands of kilometers from Russia?" It is worse when answers are often sought solely from the experience of the Afghan war. And misgivings are already being voiced that, by keeping troops in Tajikistan, we may be getting embroiled in such a lengthy conflict that even our children will be involved and die in it. There have also been blatantly panicky statements that directly link the need to immediately withdraw troops from Tajikistan with the success of Russian reforms.

There is of course a link between the war in Afghanistan and what Russia has encountered in Tajikistan, and it is essential to see that. However, one cannot fail to see the fundamental, qualitative differences. Then there was a direct incursion into a sovereign state. This happened for ideological reasons. It was another attempt to realize, albeit by force of arms, the messianic idea of the "inevitable victory of socialism." Furthermore, it was all thoroughly mixed up with the stereotypes of confrontation with the West.

Now something else is at stake. There are hundreds of thousands of Russians living in Tajikistan. Russia went there a good 100 years ago. So there are no grounds for drawing analogies with the aggression against Afghanistan. This area today is one where Russia has quite real, vital interests. If the civil war incited by foreigners continues, Russia will simply choke on a flood of refugees.

But it is not only a case of refugees. Experience shows that such conflicts, embracing more and more new territory and involving more and more people, also require more money. And there is nowhere for the warring parties to get this other than their peaceful neighbors. The very logic of the conflict inspires the idea that drugs and arms smuggling, "ordinary" criminal banditry, and political banditry are all steadily moving toward Russia. To expect this "Afghan," which is gaining momentum, to be held back by the nonexistent Russian or Kazakhstani borders is, to say the least, naive. So, I wonder, will our children not be fighting somewhere near Orenburg or Chelyabinsk in a decade's time?

Certainly, Moscow bears responsibility—and plenty of it—for the fact that the "Afghan" arose amid a 10-year conflict. But this responsibility is a moral one, not one of real policy. For God's sake, when your house is burning, you have to put out the fire and not worry about the fact that this happened due to a cigarette end that you threw away. And you should hardly ask everyone at that moment to promise to stop smoking forever.

All the talk about the need to immediately withdraw our troops would at least have some purpose on one condition: If the people leading them at the same time set out a realistic plan to create real Russian borders. Borders that could really be shut tight and thus at least guard our territory from the approaching conflict. At the moment there are no serious proposals to be heard. The example of the Transcaucasus shows what happens when a regional conflict draws near borders without installations that only exist on the map.

That is why holding back the confrontation in Tajikistan is a quite specific, particularly practical task for Russia without any ideological kinks. It is not only because our troops must be in Tajikistan that agreements were concluded and hastily ratified a few days ago on this matter. I must be honest and say that our guys are defending Russia's borders in Tajikistan. To ensure that their younger brothers do not have to defend the country back on Russian soil. This is indeed a difficult decision. But is there a reasonable alternative?

Here one is bound to mention Russian politicians' almost suicidal fascination with their own in-house wrangling. It is obvious even now that a number of them intend to turn the question of Russia's policy in the "hot spots" into a campaign instrument, into a cudgel with which to hit at opponents while waiting for possible elections. One can only be amazed at these people's moral deafness. Faced with national tragedy, faced with a truly difficult choice, and, lastly, faced with a real threat that should rally and unite the country, they are once again keenly engaged in seeking out culprits. And once again well-considered calm analysis is being replaced by slogans and scathing accusations.

The word "Afghan" is constantly appearing. But who has really spoken about the lessons of the Afghan war? Yet they are very valuable if you think about the ways of safeguarding Russian interests in Tajikistan and elsewhere and on what conditions.

Regarding the interests of Russian security as of paramount importance, we should, from the very outset, reject attempts to assess Tajikistan on the basis of our present notions of democracy and the "correct" state system. Therefore the arguments that, by defending the Afghan-Tajik border, we are supposedly helping the "procommunist government" in Dushanbe are effectively part of the old ideologized approach. Only in a different guise.

When organizing our policy we must now ask quite different questions. Namely. How effective is the incumbent Tajik Government's policy of ensuring the state's stability, does it have influence and backing among the people. In short, how serious are the people with whom we are concluding alliances. Incidentally, one must recall at the same time that we have concluded an agreement with a country and not with a specific government.

Another lesson of Afghanistan that must not be forgotten in my view is linked with military policy. If we recruit troops, they must be set very clear and feasible tasks. And they must be given both political and purely military opportunities to perform these tasks.

Yet the past week has really demonstrated how difficult it is in Russia to urgently adopt decisions in the security sphere. But if we seriously think that our country will, for a fairly long time to come, have to encounter military conflicts in the post-Soviet area and the need to respond immediately to threats that arise, obviously the procedure for adopting such decisions needs to be seriously revised. And obviously the Law "On Defense" needs to be amended too.

Lastly, let us tackle purely military matters. The whole experience of such conflicts shows that posts scattered along the border are too vulnerable to surprise attack from abroad. It is obviously time to form mobile forces with all the necessary means at their disposal, including transport and combat aviation. Forces capable of repulsing these attacks effectively without losses.

It is quite evident that the situation requires our diplomatic effort to be stepped up. On the one hand, neighboring states must be aware that Russia does not have any expansionist plans. On the other, people there must also realize that any provocation against the Russian military will meet with a fierce response. At the same time influential partners must be sought, primarily in the Islamic states, who also have an interest in stability in Central Asia. These political circles could act as intermediaries in settling the conflicts.

Now is the time to raise the question that the instability spreading from the south poses a danger not just to Russia alone. The world community must counter it in its own interests. Therefore the proposal for CIS troops to be introduced in Tajikistan under the flag of UN peacekeeping forces is quite right. However, I would venture to doubt the possibility of putting this plan into practice. The CIS states do not, as yet, want to look beyond their national home. And as for the United Nations, it clearly does not have the money to fund even the operations already under way.

So, the conflict in Tajikistan will for the most part be a Russian problem. And it is all the more important now to find nationwide accord on this very difficult question.

Azerbaijanis in Russia Adopt Appeal

LD2107125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0850 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul—"We wish to see Azerbaijan as a free, independent, prosperous, and friendly state," says an appeal to the people and leadership of Azerbaijan that was adopted today at a meeting in Moscow of Azerbaijanis living in the Russian Federation. Taking part in the meeting were representatives of Azerbaijan national groups from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Murmansk, Samara, Chelyabinsk, and other cities.

Those taking part in the meeting accused the National Front of Azerbaijan of unleashing war against their own people, ruining the country's economy, impoverishing the people, and increasing tension with Russia and other states. They expressed support for the policy of the new leadership of Azerbaijan and called on the people of the country to close ranks.

Space Agency Head Says Shipments to India Will Continue

LD2107214593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] The Director of the Russian Space Agency Aleksandr Dunayev has declared that without an appropriate government decision, the Foreign Ministry did not have the right to inform the Indian side about the changes in the terms of the contract on cryogenic engines. He said that despite the move of the ministry, the agency intends to continue full-scale shipments to India, including technology, until the government decides otherwise. Mr. Dunayev said that as it fulfills the contract, Russia does not promote the development of mass destruction weapons.

Benefits Seen in Compromise

PM2107114393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Vladimir Nadein article: "Knowing the Rules, Playing By the Rules. Lessons of Overcoming First Serious Crisis in Russian-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Washington—Although this dispute ended happily at the Tokyo summit between B. Yeltsin and B. Clinton, the talks in Washington have by no means been a stroll through pleasant diplomatic surroundings. But it is no longer a question of tough confrontation—those days are over. The fact is that both delegations will probably be criticized at home. And the criticism will be the same—that they made concessions and gave up their positions.

Compromise is impossible in principle unless some initial demands are relinqished. But this case is special.

Concluding a deal with the Indian Government for the sale of rocket technology, rockets, and equipment for their manufacture, the Russian side was undoubtedly not thinking in cold war terms. The obvious commercial motives and the acute need—recognized by everyone—for money to be used for democracy seemed to Moscow, if not a justification, then, at any rate, an excuse for not "playing by the rules."

It was not Russia that drew up these rules. They were drawn up and adopted by the Western powers. With the main aim of restraining the worldwide proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And with the secondary aim of complicating both the sale of missiles by the Soviet Union and the acquisition of them by its clients.

As essentially the sole heir to the Soviet Union's nuclear missile might, the government of democratic Russia quite understandably considered it unnecessary to take account of restrictions that were adopted during the lifetime of the Soviet Union. It is worth noting that, when asked "what prevented Russia from stating its intention to observe international nonproliferation norms beforehand," Yu.N. Koptev said: "I simply have no answer to that."

Incidentally, this was the only question that was not clearly answered by the head of the Russian delegation. A colleague told me that his press conference Monday [19 July], five hours before returning to Moscow, attracted every single Indian journalist accredited in the United States. Most of their rejoinders were based on the idea that Russia had caved in to inexorable pressure from Washington. But Yu. Koptev unambiguously rejected this idea: "The Washington accords are not the result of any pressure. They are the practical result of the principled stand taken by an autonomous, independent state that has a missile potential and recognizes its responsibility to the world."

Given that the missile contract will have to be revised to a decisive extent, these words may seem crafty. But we ought first to take a closer look at the U.S. side's arguments. Including an argument that Russian citizens cannot but accept. Namely—that instability in the world is so great that we could soon find ourselves the target of missiles which we actually sold ourselves.

Yu. Koptev stressed on several occasions the continuity of the delegation he heads, noting the contribution made by his predecessor A. Shokhin, "without which there would have been little chance of expecting the result which our contacts achieved." But Washington has made a high assessment of the fruitful approaches adopted by Yu. Koptev himself, who managed to very tactfully shift the emphasis from politics to hardware, and from ambitions to monitoring and guarantees.

"Furthermore, this successful outcome to the conflict was promoted by the current situation," a Department of State staffer who took part in the talks told me privately. "Your country already has democratic procedures and you should realize that, now that Bill Clinton has almost his entire term ahead of him, it is not that hard for him to give rein to his sympathy for Russia. But had this happened 12-18 months before the elections, even the President himself would have found it hard to make these concessions."

By "these concessions" the staffer was referring to the fact that delivering rocket engines to India, as Russia will fully continue to do, will not incur any retaliatory Western sanctions. Under U.S. legislation, the administration is entitled to apply sanctions against both the vendors and the purchasers of missiles. Incidentally, by all accounts, the U.S. sanctions against India will not be lifted.

The head of the Russian delegation believes that the Washington discussion was not about the Russian-Indian deal, but about the "principles of the rules under which Russia will in practice gear itself to international standards and the provisions on the nonproliferation of missile technology." Our country will gain political and economic advantages by joining the club of 23 developed countries espousing these principles.

One of the members of the Russian delegation, noting other advantages of the accords reached, mentioned the forthcoming revision of the activity of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls]. This organization, which is run strictly by the United States, was set up to cut the communist countries off from the use of sophisticated technology developed in the West. The diplomat claimed that by October COCOM will be reoriented to monitoring the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Another ranking Russian diplomat said that the interpretation of the advantageousness of the missile deal with India reflected the ideological inertia of the previous historical era. "If the friendship between our countries is that special," he said, "why did the Indians look to the Europeans rather than us for help in launching their satellite recently? Why did they pay $60 million in cash to them rather than us?"

Churkin Views 'Positive Changes' in Bosnian Settlement

LD2207135493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1318 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin said there have been positive changes in the settlement of the Bosnian conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Addressing the Russian parliament on Thursday, Churkin, who just returned from the conflict zone, said Croatia may soon begin withdrawing its troops from Serb-controlled regions seized in January. He also added that talks may begin in the near future to resume vital supplies to the districts of Serb-Croat fighting.

Speaking about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Churkin said a military solution of the conflict is impossible. He informed the parliament about the Serb-Croat initiative concerning the conflict settlement which calls for the creation of a confederative state. The Moslem side is ready to begin talks. However it has put forward several conditions which seriously hamper the negotiation process, including the demand to stop the Serb aggression south of Sarajevo where Moslems are still holding one of the strategic heights.

Churkin expressed the hope that the negotiation process will begin and will bring positive results.

Kozyrev Begins Official Visit to Southeast Asia

Arrives in Malaysia, Meets Foreign Minister

LD2207033393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0245 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Bokhonko and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 22 Jul—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived today on a one-day visit in the capital of Malaysia—Kuala Lumpur. This is the first ever official visit by the head of the Russian foreign policy department to Malaysia in the history of relations between the two countries. On the same day, talks between Andrey Kozyrev and Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Haji Ahmad Badawi began. The parties have been discussing a wide range of issues of bilateral cooperation and also topical regional and world problems.

The visit's program includes talks with Defense Minister Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak. It is also expected that the Russian foreign minister will be received by Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad.

After the talks, the head of the foreign policy department of the Russian Federation will fly to Singapore, where he will attend the 26th meeting of foreign ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which opens tomorrow, and a conference of the ASEAN countries and their partners in dialogue.

Policy Objectives Highlighted

MK2207095093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko, Viktor Zamyatin report: "Russian Policy in Southeast Asia. Russian Foreign Ministry Chief Leaves for ASEAN Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Andrey Kozyrev yesterday began his tour of countries of the Asian-Pacific region, which will bring the Russian diplomat to a meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers scheduled to open 23 July in Singapore. Andrey Kozyrev made a stopover on the way there in Malaysia, where he is holding talks with the country's leaders today. It is very likely that the parties will discuss, among other things, the prospects for Russian-Malaysian military and technical cooperation. [passage omitted]

It is well known that the United States, traditionally influential in the Asian-Pacific Region, put forward at the Tokyo summit the idea of setting up in the region a system of political, economic, and military cooperation, in which it in no way expects to play second fiddle. Not all ASEAN members approve of this plan, however, so in Singapore the United States will try to secure the support of other states that have influence in Asia, such as China and Russia. Russia is objectively interested in an economic expansion into these countries, the more so because Western markets are still closed to it. To this end, however, Russia will have to change its status in ASEAN from an "invited" to a "full partner in the dialogue." But this may not happen earlier than 1994.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Russian strategic objectives in the Asian-Pacific Region (according to the concept of Russia's foreign policy)

—to secure Russia's independent role in the polycentric system of international relations;

—to develop balanced and, if possible, independent of each other, relations with all Asian-Pacific region states;

—the inevitable alienation between Russia and North Korea should be accompanied by using the remaining leverage to pressure Pyongyang in order first of all to hold back its plans for creating its own weapons of mass destruction.

Deputy Foreign Minister Sees No 'Rollback' in DPRK Ties

MK2207091093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Viktor Zamyatin, Pavel Popov report: "Moscow Interested in Continued Relations With Pyongyang"]

[Excerpts] Despite Russia's ambition to have full-scale cooperation with top developed states of the Asia and the Pacific region—this is highlighted by Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Malaysia and Singapore which began yesterday—all signs are that Moscow is not going to break off its well-established relations with North Korea. Even the incident in which Russian nationals came close to being mobbed in Nampo on 4 July is not going to touch off any diplomatic complications between Moscow and Pyongyang. Your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent was told this by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze at their meeting late on 20 July. [passage omitted]

Georgiy Kunadze thinks the current Russian foreign policy concept provides for no severance or "rollback" of relations between Russia and North Korea. According to Kunadze, Moscow has so far managed to maintain the balance necessary for continued normal relations since this policy accords with the interests of both Russia and the entire world community. In conditions where Pyongyang continues "nuclear brinkmanship," Moscow's efforts are likely both to offset Beijing's traditionally strong influence somewhat, and to hold out another promise that possible conflicts would be settled diplomatically. Continued normal relations also give Moscow the hope that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would repay its little debt of 3.3 billion rubles to Russia, interest on which has not, however, been paid since 1990.

Ministry Official Details Assault on Russians in DPRK

PM2207113193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Scandal Over Beating Up of Russian Citizens in North Korea Continues"]

[Text] The Russian embassy in Pyongyang, investigating the circumstances of the beating up of Russian citizens by a crowd of Koreans in the city of Nampo, has lodged a strong protest with the DPRK Foreign Ministry.

In conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, a senior spokesman for the Foreign Ministry gave the details of what had happened. On 4 July G. Blinov, N. Golovko (with his wife and son), and S. Bulekov, employees of the Russian trade mission in the DPRK, went to the port city of Nampo for a break, having notified the Korean side in the proper manner. They decided to visit the city market, which is open to everyone.

According to the Russians, Golovko's wife had been filming the area with a video camera, but stopped doing so after a remark made by a Korean. Then our people freely entered the market area, but after a few minutes they were suddenly attacked by an aggressive crowd numbering at least 500. The Koreans beat the defenseless people and hurled abuse at them.

The Russian citizens sustained bodily injuries, they lost documents and money, and the expensive video camera was smashed. They were illegally detained for two hours by people who called themselves representatives of the market administration. They would not allow our people to contact the Russian embassy in Pyongyang and they tried to force them to admit responsibility for the incident.

The Russian Federation embassy believes that the attack on the Russian citizens had been planned. This is indicated by the presence at the scene of people invested with certain powers, who not only connived at the outrage, but filmed it on a video camera. The embassy described the attack on the trade mission employees as "crude, provocative actions by the DPRK authorities against Russian citizens" and demanded the punishment of those responsible and compensation for the material and psychological damage.

Instead of making an official apology, the DPRK Foreign Ministry issued an official note blaming our citizens for the entire incident and accusing them of "violation of law and order and of unseemly conduct."

A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman told IZVESTIYA that the Koreans had returned the documents, money, and articles taken at the market in Nampo. He also noted that there are more than 200 of our citizens working in North Korea at the moment. The embassy is doing everything possible to ensure their safety.

Steps Being Taken To Stop Clashes on Chinese Border

MK2107114093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 30, 21 Jul 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Avdoshin report under the "INFO-'"ROSSIYA"' rubric: "...But the Government Is More Powerful"]

[Text] Clashes between local residents of the contiguous states along the Russian-Chinese border have grown in frequency. Russians batter Chinese, Chinese batter Russians, and only the appearance of border guards (no matter if they are Russian or Chinese) on the scene stops the fights.

As is thought in the border troops press center, the war between local residents is happening because of the ill-defined state border. Things have reached such a scale that the governments of both states have decided to take urgent measures. On our side, work is under way to adjust border-zone regulations and procedures, while the Chinese are going to stiffen punishment for border violations.

PRC Spokesman on Incidents Involving Russian Ships

PM2107193193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "Beijing Intends To Put a Stop to Illegal Seizures of Russian Ships"]

[Text] Beijing—Beijing intends to put a stop to illegal seizures and searches of Russian merchant ships and fishing vessels in the open sea. The conflicts that have arisen as a result of this between the Chinese authorities and our seamen will be resolved in the light of the friendly relations that have taken shape between Russia and China since President B. Yeltsin's visit to Beijing.

This conclusion followed from an interview your correspondent was granted by PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Wu Jianmin.

"The development of the economy and reforms in China have had a side effect in that they have stepped up maritime smuggling. Efforts are being made to combat it. But the border guards do not have sufficient manpower to carry out this task. So, according to my information, the Chinese border guards have recruited some locals for this work," Wu Jianmin noted.

In fact, there have been cases where certain employees of the corresponding Chinese organs have acted in breach of the norms of national legislation and international law. The Chinese side will adopt strict measures against these people and will also see to it that such incidents do not recur.

As examples of China's willingness to admit and correct mistakes made by coastguard organs, Wu Jianmin cited the incidents involving the ships Valeriy Volkov (7 July) and Soyuz-4 (9 June). Soyuz-4 was released, if you remember, and the Chinese apologized to the Russian side. The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Valeriy Volkov had also been illegally detained in an unauthorized antismuggling operation.

At the same time, it is clear from the interview that Beijing believes that Russian seamen have also violated PRC laws on occasions. A particular example of this was the incident involving the merchant ship Valeriy Vereshchagin. It was detained in the port of Qingdao at the request of a Chinese marine arbitration court because the owner had failed to pay a debt to a Chinese trading partner. On 14 May the crew of the Valeriy Vereshchagin "unilaterally absconded," as Wu Jianmin put it—that is, they took the motor vessel to Russia.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also claims that the sale by auction of the Russian motor vessel Pan-Mari, which had arrived in China under a Panamanian flag, was warranted from the viewpoint of the country's laws. But, by and large, Wu Jianmin described the incidents at sea as isolated "unpleasant events" against the background of the friendly relations between China and Russia. The situation must be rectified. In this connection, in the very near future Beijing will be responding positively to Moscow's proposal to hold bilateral consultations on seafaring problems.

Defense Official Views German Aircraft, Defense Industries

LD2207005893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1835 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Jul—The finale of the "Russian-German Week," which began with a meeting at Lake Baykal between the leaders of the two countries, took place today near the small German township of Lervenich [placename as received]. Pilots of the 31st fighter-bomber squadron—one of the best formations in the Federal Air Force—showed a Russian military delegation headed by Andrey Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, techniques of piloting Phantom and Tornado fighter-bombers, the Alpha Jet ground-attack aircraft, military transport aircraft, and military helicopters. A complex of combat training tasks including formation flights, in-flight refuelling, striking at ground targets and defense of the aerodrome against aerial attack were practiced in the sky over Lervenich.

The Russian military men were given an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the latest versions of the Tornado fighter aircraft, including ones capable of carrying nuclear weapons, as well as aircraft with radio-electronic countermeasures. Lieutenant General Gerhard John, chief of the Tactical Air Force Command, acquainted the Russian delegation with the system of training Air Force pilots and with the new tasks facing the Air Force.

The same day the Russian delegation visited the "Deutsche Aerospace" concern, located not far from Munich. The first deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation familiarized himself with the prospects for the development of this giant of the German aerospace industry, which controls about one-third of the national market of armaments. He showed a special interest in the mechanism of interaction between the concern and the Federal Government in shaping a military order and in resolving questions of the diversification of production.

The Russian military men studied the specifications and performance characteristics of the latest versions of the "Milan" and "Hot" anti-tank systems, of the "Roland" air defense system and other models of weapons developed in "Deutsche Aerospace." They were also presented with information on the concern's work on satellite and transport space systems and carrier rockets for the "Ariane" program. The sides discussed the prospects for cooperation between Russian and German aviation and space firms.

"Totally new opportunities of interaction in the production of electronic space equipment and in the development of technologies for the needs of civilian and military industry are opening up," A. Kokoshin told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. "This means first of all the links with German companies and international European consortiums specializing in the aviation and space spheres."

In the afternoon, A. Kokoshin met Tyll Necker, the president of the Federation of German Industry, in Bonn.

On Thursday he will fly to Wuensdorf, where he will conduct a working conference with the Command of the Western Group of Forces.

Economists Criticize Government Stance on Integration

LD2007151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1436 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow July 20—A group of prominent Russian economists and public figures have issued a statement today which describes as "short-sighted" the economic policy which found its expression in the decision on establishing an economic union adopted recently by the leaders of government of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine.

The statement signed by Stanislav Shatalin, Leonid Abalkin, Vadim Bakatin and other leaders of the International Reform fund noted that the agreement of the heads of government of three slavic countries would have been welcomed, had it not appeared as a political reaction to the actions taken by the Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan to establish closer economic cooperation with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan And afghanistan.

The reform fund leaders say that the "statement by the three" was adopted without preliminary consultations with Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries and imposed considerable restrictions on the possibility of their participation in the union. What's more, their statement can repel these countries from participation in the economic union. And this while Kazakhstan has acted throughout the history of the Commonwealth of Independent States as one of the chief initiators of closer integration and called for creating a system of coordinating agencies.

The economists and public figures stress that this foreign economic policy with respect to Kazakhstan and other Commonwealth member-countries is "short-sighted, it does not meet the interests of Russia and other countries either in the short- or in the long-term perspective."

"The main way towards deeper economic integration with neighboring countries lies through the development and implementation of the declaration about the creation of an economic union within the Commonwealth of Independent States. This is what the efforts of all countries should be concentrated upon without further complicating this already complex process with restrictions and obstacles which can undermine the basis of the brittle and necessary concord achieved in moscow," the statement of the reform fund leaders says.

'Russian Unity' on Tajikistan, Ukraine, Estonia

LD2007135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Tatyana Romanenkova report under the "Press Conference" rubric: "Event of the Day in the Estimation of 'Russian Unity'"]

[Excerpt] "The supreme commander in chief has lost the right to that title," one speaker at the open session of the "Russian Unity" opposition bloc said, commenting on the president's actions.

The deputies' consternation was caused by the fact that Boris Yeltsin, who is currently on vacation, did not make any attempt to discuss with parliament the Russian Armed Forces's preventive actions on the Afghan-Tajik border.

Mikhail Astafyev went on to give explanations concerning the situation prevailing in Russian-Ukrainian relations.

Following the Supreme Soviet's adoption of a decree on the status of Sevastopol, Ukrainian oppositionists [opponenty] began to assert that the Supreme Soviet is driving a wedge between Ukraine and Russia and exacerbating interethnic relations between Russians and Ukrainians.

The Russian Federation, in claiming its rights, is in no way infringing on the interests of other republics which do not have rights to this territory.

Mikhail Astafyev also informed journalists that, according to as yet unofficial reports, the Estonian authorities are planning a major provocation in Narva. A special military contingent has been prepared, whose task includes sabotaging the holding of the referendum and provoking disorders which could end in bloodshed.

More Aggressive Voice in UN Urged

MK2107124093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 30, 25 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 20 Jul) p A7

[Article by Professor Viktor Kremenyuk, deputy director of the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute, from "In the World" column: "The United Nations and Keeping the Peace: Fiasco in Somalia"]

[Text] The UN peacekeeping forces in Somalia are trying to catch General Aidid. Food supplies coming in as part of the foreign relief package are not being distributed. Mountains of cargoes have accumulated in the port of Mogadishu. In some areas the rate of deaths caused by starvation is again breaking world records. General Aidid is not going to capitulate. On the contrary, using the support of the population in the territory under his control, he is openly defying the "blue helmets."

People are right in asking the question: What is the matter? What has happened to peacekeeping operations which until recently have been generally welcomed? Clearly, in Somalia they are not only not improving the situation but actually making it even more explosive and unpredictable.

The Somalia case makes it possible to make a preliminary diagnosis to the problem that has emerged. Its origins stem not only from the mistakes in formulating the tasks of the operations and of the troops carrying them out. The idea of the UN role and its functions in regional conflicts is basically wrong and unsubstantiated. Moreover, the United Nations and its decisions are being used to ensure the interests of individual countries, which are becoming a target of political machinations with the involvement of an ever wider range of states, as a result of which the problem is becoming even more complicated.

The United Nations' current peacekeeping activity is drawing inspiration, for the most part, from the success of the international forces which ousted Iraq from Kuwait in 1991. This has been much written about already. Yet when the experience of the war in the Gulf began to be transferred, with amazing simplicity, to other regions, political and technical mistakes became an inalienable part of the policy of the United Nations, its Security Council, and the Secretariat. What is there in common, one might ask, between direct aggression by Iraq against independent Kuwait and the struggle of the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in Bosnia? It is clear to any unbiased observer that there is nothing in common here. Nonetheless, a definition of "Serbian aggression" has emerged, which is being thoroughly exploited and especially frequently when UN resolutions adopted on its basis are not working. And in order to prove that they are right, things were taken to a point when massive bombardments of Bosnia's Serb-controlled territory were on the verge of being launched, very much like the "Christmas bombing" of Vietnam by U.S. aircraft in December

1972. Significantly, the greatest activity here was displayed by Madeiline Albright, the U.S. representative at the UN Security Council.

Further, in previous operations (Cyprus, Sinai) UN troops have always maintained neutrality and therefore forced both sides of a conflict to respect them and avoid direct clashes with the "blue helmets." Their task was disengagement of the warring parties, preservation of the truce, and nonparticipation in local squabbles. Today they are increasingly often becoming directly involved in conflicts, assuming the function not only of deciding which side is "good" and which is "bad," but also the function of punishing the "bad ones." This is happening in Yugoslavia and in Somalia where instead of protecting food convoys and relief mission personnel, UN troops are hunting for Aidid and delivering strikes on residential areas, as a result of which civilians are dying.

Finally, the United Nations could (with the consent of conflicting parties) assume the mission of an intermediary in searching a settlement. But neither the United Nations, nor any other international organizations (for example, the EC) may assume the functions of an arbiter that is not only working out a solution to settle a conflict contrary to the interests of the parties involved, but also trying to impose this decision on the belligerent sides by force. How arrogant and rude Lord Owen's appeals to start bombing the Serbs in Bosnia to force them to accept his (and Cyrus Vance's) stillborn plan for a settlement sounded! We are seeing something like that in Somalia as well.

No question, the United Nations was set up to be used as an instrument for keeping peace. It should, moreover, be an effective instrument and not just a debating society which produces merely a feeling of contempt. But it should also be able to resist both the UN bureaucracy and the attempts by some of its strongest members to turn it into a means to implement their disproportionate ambitions or their political interests. For instance, fighting Iraq's aggressive policy is within UN jurisdiction, no matter how hard the Saddam Husayn regime might oppose it. But does this mean that a U.S. President may independently decide whether or not to bomb Baghdad, if he suddenly chooses to show his decisiveness and fearlessness to his compatriots?

Equally understandable is the wish of the UN bureaucracy, which is drawing fairly sharp criticism, to use colossal funds for their own selfish ends. And again the question arises: Is it well-advised to strengthen the role of the UN Secretary General further, or is it time to place him under tougher control of Security Council members? In brief, UN peacekeeping activity is causing strong doubts. Maybe Russian diplomacy would finally show some courage and start speaking the language of a great power, a permanent Security Council member and not the weak shadow of its great partner from across the ocean, and take steps to rectify the UN role? This would be not simply an act of salvaging this organization but also a real step forward in ensuring Russia's interests.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Must Regain Constitutional 'Initiative'

PM2107082193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Jul 93 p 1

[Petr Akopov commentary: "Parliament Intends 'Not To Allow' Anybody To Adopt New Constitution"]

[Text] The constitutional crisis entered a new phase after the Supreme Soviet reacted immediately to the draft constitution which had been presented by the president and received the Constitutional Conference's approval.

The discussion showed that a majority of deputies agreed with [Constitutional Commission] Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev, who informed them of the draft's arrival from the president and announced that it was necessary to continue work on the constitution, using as a basis the draft which the Constitutional Commission prepared at the same time as taking the Constitutional Conference's version into account.

But all the squabbling surrounding the draft constitution presented by the president pales into insignificance against the law which parliament adopted the very same day. If this law is approved at its second reading as well, all disputes about the differences between the constitution's drafts will become no more than academic discussions. The Law "On the Procedure for Adopting the Russian Federation Constitution" seals the fate of the president's attempts to take the constitutional process outside of the White House by making adoption of the new Fundamental Law an internal matter for parliament. According to the new law, the Constitution may only be adopted in two ways: by the Congress or by a referendum. A vote of two-thirds of the elected Russian Federation deputies are required for its adoption at the Congress. The Constitution may be adopted by a referendum if more than half the Russian Federation's citizens declare in its favor, but this majority must be obtained in no less than two-thirds of the total number of the Federation's components. These circumstances to all intents and purposes rule the referendum out of the list of viable means of adopting the Constitution, leaving only one way with no alternatives—a vote at the Congress.

Few people doubt that the Congress is not burning with desire to adopt the new constitution. Even when spurred on by the Constitutional Conference's work, the deputies could not get used to the idea that the constitution would sooner or later nevertheless have to be adopted.

There is no consensus among the Federation components, and the deputies, though elected by the people, do not wish to quarrel with the local leaders and often simply cannot do so. But the deputies also do not want to hand over the constitution's adoption to anyone. What should they do? There is only one course left, to which the people's deputies have resorted—to remove all possible indirect ways of adopting the Fundamental Law leaving themselves the right to adopt it; but this right must not be abused. The promises to submit to the Congress on 17 November the draft which the Constitutional Commission "prepared" do not seem very convincing. Our experience of the discussion of the constitution at the Sixth Congress convinces us that the constitution will not be adopted either at the Tenth or Eleventh Congresses. The constitution is not being delayed until the fall—they are simply trying to remove it from the agenda.

But I think that we will not have to wait until the fall. Parliament has tried yet again to put the president in his place by pointing out the worthlessness of his assertions about there being several ways to adopt the new constitution. But if the whole episode of the Constitutional Conference is not to have been a meaningless venture for the president but part of a considered plan of action, then it would be logical to expect Yeltsin to take steps in the next few days in response to this—steps which might even be very harsh. Despite the fact that the president is on vacation, he and his team have most likely already worked out a possible response to parliament's actions. Even so people are already accusing Yeltsin of inertia and of losing the initiative and not benefiting fully from the fruits of the referendum. If the president keeps quiet this time, he risks losing many of his radical supporters who are already prepared to "do battle" even without their indecisive commander. This is all the more likely as Ruslan Khasbulatov is continuing to behave bullishly. Speaking on 19 July, he once again accused Yeltsin of attempting to "destroy the representative branch of power" and called on the local soviets to "defend their parliament." According to Khasbulatov, parliament itself should finally form the government. In this way, the speaker is keeping an eye on the president, the government, and parliament, hoping, as he did before, to shift the focus of the political struggle from the Constitution to the government. In this situation Yeltsin cannot keep quiet, though the president's response should be measured and commensurate with the challenge which has been thrown down. Dialogue is necessary and our striving for it should not depend on the current actions of one side or the other. After all the Constitution is in the final analysis only a means to achieve national accord.

Popov: New Parliament Must Adopt Constitution

MK2107102093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 4

[Yekaterina Deyneko report in "Russian Democratic Reforms Movement on New Constitution and Elections" column: "Gavriil Popov Approves of the Results of Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] Addressing a 20 July press conference in Moscow city hall, Gavriil Popov, leader of the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement, expressed his satisfaction with the results of the first stage of the Constitutional Conference. In Popov's opinion, the main shortcoming of the draft constitution under discussion now is the absence of a special section regulating the activity of the so-called fourth estate. In addition, Mr. Popov pointed to the inexpediency of creating any supervisory councils at the TV and radio company: "No one in the world has yet succeeded in forming completely independent mass media organizations."

According to Gavriil Popov, the just concluded first stage of the Constitutional Conference has brought society more benefit than harm. "The aspiration toward accord in society has proven to be stronger than among the majority of Russia's political leaders," Mr. Popov said. The main task now is to make the draft constitution acceptable also for the Federation components who are already distrusting the draft new federation treaty and are seeking to minimize their dependence on the center.

The most complicated problem, which has not been addressed by the Constitutional Conference, according to Popov, remains the absence of agreement as to how powers should be distributed between the president and the government. After the Constitutional Conference has approved the draft new constitution, preparations for new elections should be started immediately .

"I think that no time should wasted waiting for the present legislative branch to adopt a new constitution. It cannot do this," Popov stated. Instead, a new election law should be passed to make sure that the Russian Federation's new constitution is adopted by a new parliament.

In the event that the incumbent deputies refuse to adopt an election law, the former mayor believes, this law must be adopted via a nationwide referendum. The present situation in the mass media, however, makes it virtually impossible to conduct an election campaign. Therefore Popov recommends the most careful elaboration of that section of the constitution which enshrines the forms and methods of exercising the powers by the "fourth estate" in our society.

Mr. Popov expressed his disagreement with the idea of creating special supervisory councils in the mass media organizations during the election campaign, pointing out that "it does not make any difference whatsoever whom such councils are serving—the executive or the legislative branch."

Yarov: Congress Must Consider Draft Constitution

LD2107212793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today there is no longer a presidential draft constitution, but a jointly developed draft. Moreover, work on it is proceeding openly, Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov stated at a briefing today in the Russian Government's press centre. [passage omitted]

The vice premier considers unambigously that the congress is necessary to discuss the draft drawn up by the Constitutional Conference. Although there is no guarantee that the congress will adopt the draft, Yarov said, there is no guarantee it will not. If the congress rejects the draft, the vice premier stressed, then the president has the right to appeal to the people via a referendum.

Interior Minister on Increase in Crime

PM2107141193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 1

[Arkadiy Semenyaka report: "'We Don't Want To Play Statistical Games,' Minister Viktor Yerin Declared Yesterday at a Briefing at the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] A tragedy occurred 19 July in Moscow, in the Alfa Romeo showroom on Leninskiy Prospekt. During lunchtime armed criminals burst in. A firefight broke out between the attackers and staffers of the firm. The result was deplorable: Three dead, four wounded. At the scene of the incident staffers of law enforcement agencies found two Kalashnikov assault rifles, "TT" and foreign-produced pistols, and an "F-1" grenade. But yesterday Minister [of Internal Affairs] Viktor Yerin, telling Russian and foreign journalists about the crime situation in Russia and the results of internal affairs organs' work over the first six months of this year, said that the criminals who attacked the car showroom have been neutralized.

It should be noted that today internal affairs organs are worried about the problem of the spread of weapons, especially firearms, and about the aggressiveness and brutality of crimes. The number of crimes has more than tripled in comparison with the first six months of last year. Thefts of weapons and ammunition were almost 40 percent up. The number of premeditated murders and cases of grievous bodily harm almost doubled.

According to the minister, the danger of organized crime is increasing. The process of the criminalization of the economy has not been stopped.

Nevertheless, this year there has been a sevenfold decrease in the dynamics of crime compared with the same period last year. The crime solving rate is increasing steadily. Property, money, and assets totaling 71 billion rubles, including $5.2 million, have been confiscated from criminals.

"We do not want to play statistical games," Viktor Yerin said, admitting that many problems in the fight against crime are not being solved.

But can they be solved at all in a society that is today oriented toward the unruly accumulation of initial capital? The minister said nothing about that.

Shumeyko Accuses Parliament of Stalling on Reforms

MK2207093093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Ivan Sidorov report: "Vladimir Shumeyko Press Conference. Vice Premier Accuses Supreme Soviet of Opposing Reforms"]

[Text] There seems to be fewer and fewer people in Russia determined to mind their own business. The lawmakers are shifting their focus on the economy, making preparations for an all-Russia conference to discuss economic problems, while the executive branch is still anxious about the fate of a new fundamental law. Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, also spoke about the Constitution before journalists yesterday. He is worried in particular about the slowdown in the efforts to pass a new fundamental law. As for the current constitution, the first vice premier thinks it is parliament's chip in a political struggle.

Talking to journalists, Vladimir Shumeyko voiced his view of the situation surrounding the new fundamental law, shared by presidential supporters, that it is a hopeless exercise to attempt economic reforms before political issues have been resolved. As for the current Constitution, the first vice premier thought, it is being used by the Supreme Soviet in a political struggle. Mr. Shumeyko cited as an example the fact that parliament had suspended the president's law on guarantees to citizens in the course of privatization. This, at a time when privatization, along with anti-inflation measures, are the government's economic policy priorities. Mr. Shumeyko also recalled that deputies are supposed to debate presidential reform-related acts within 10 days, but six months have already gone by without the Supreme Soviet's being able to discuss the important edicts on trusts, a land reform, and a land bank, among some others.

The main problem giving rise to this situation, the vice premier thought, is that there exist two opposing political systems in the country. The dilemma can be resolved only by passing a new fundamental law. "Without a new constitution, Russia cannot be preserved," Vladimir Shumeyko stressed. He thinks in this connection that the president's strategy should consist in pressing for a speedy convocation of the Congress to pass the constitution. Should the deputies fail to accept the draft drawn up in the Kremlin, then let it be passed in a referendum; perhaps the Constitutional Conference could even be declared a Constitutional Assembly to confirm the fundamental law. No special hopes should be pinned on calling early general elections. They are going to make no difference without a new constitution.

Executive Officials' Activities, Decrees

PM2107154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **Meetings, Conferences**

Head of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin brought together all his deputies, as he always does on Mondays, in order to sum up the results of the previous week, speak about the results of his visit to FRG, and discuss questions which will be the topic of the "Grand Council of Ministers." This session will take place on Thursday, 29 July, and will basically be given over to an analysis of the government's activities for the first six months of 1993.

Viktor Chernomyrdin received Patriarch Varfolomey I, head of the Universal Orthodox Church, who is ending a visit to Russia. Aleksiy II, head of the Russian Orthodox Church and patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, participated in the discussion.

During the discussion, the Russian premier promised support for the Orthodox Church in its program to build churches and to resolve its material problems.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko's vacation ended and he was already participating the next morning in a session of the trilateral commission to regulate labor relations. Vladimir Shumeyko also met with leaders of the press services of the executive branch.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov spent 19 July resolving current issues.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha held a session which was given over to questions of bringing in the 1993 harvest.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov had a fairly packed work schedule for the first day of the week. He met with Ho Huan Nghiem, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, then held a conference of a working group on delivering goods to regions of the Far North.

Business Trip's Results

Those who closely follow the "Monitoring" feature in our newspaper will know that Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin was in Krasnoyarsk from 15 July. What are the results of his four-day trip?

One basic result is that the vice premier considers it necessary to put into operation—and at the earliest possible time—the Olimpiadinskiy Gold Mine and the Gorevskiy Mining and Enrichment Combine. Whereas there is nothing to prevent the first task from being carried out, in the second case things depend on a resumption of deliveries of concentrate to Kazakhstan as there are no lead production plants in Russia. As Aleksandr Shokhin admitted, the federal authorities' mistake was to impose such a level of duty on the export of concentrate that the raw material's cost approached the metal's price.

Southern Evenkiya has been designated a future oil-producing province. So it can become a worthy replacement for Western Siberia as an oil producer, it is necessary to build small oil- and gas-processing plants. Siberian defense enterprises can play an important role here, the vice premier emphasized.

In Aleksandr Shokhin's opinion, the Boguchany hydroelectric power station should become the focal point for the region's development. But payment for the power it supplies—mostly to China—should be made in foreign currency and not in down jackets and training shoes.

The basic conclusion which the vice premier drew as a result of this trip was that it is necessary to create incentives for the sectors and individual areas in order to shift the emphasis from exports of raw materials to that of finished products.

Documents

The Russian Government has adopted a decree on carrying out an inventory of land with a view to determining the feasibility of granting it to Russian citizens. This measure is being carried out under the Russian Federation president's edict "On Additional Measures To Provide Citizens With Plots of Land." All categories of land which are not being used for agricultural production are subject to inventorization.

The Regions

Maritime Kray Administration Head Ye. Nazdratenko stated that if the Russian Government fails to approve the draft "On Extending the Rights of Maritime Kray Administration," then "we will simply be forced to adopt the status of a republic in order to get the opportunity to extricate ourselves from the protracted economic crisis."

City Hall Takes Measures

Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov has confirmed regulations for trading in agricultural produce in the capital's markets. According to the new regulations, it is absolutely forbidden to sell marinated mushrooms, homemade conserves, meat and chopped culinary products, uncooked foods, cream-filled confectionery, colored sweets, and caramel. The ban also extends to wild plants included in the "Red Book" [of endangered species], wild flowers, medicinal herbs, alcoholic drinks, produce made from grain and groats which have been contaminated by the weed seeds, and also tropical fruit and vegetables imported without a certificate of quality and documents confirming the source from which they were obtained.

Administrative regulation of prices for produce sold at markets is prohibited.

Corruption

A group of criminals who systematically stole mercury from Woodworking Combine No. 1, situated on the territory of Gorkiy-Moskovskiy station, has been exposed in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast. Some 42 kilograms of mercury worth 32 million rubles were confiscated.

Moscow. A railroad car which had been standing in a siding [otstoynik] at the Rizhskaya station since February attracted the attention of the authorities. When investigating the freight car's contents, it emerged that it did not contain the cargo indicated in the accompanying documents, but that most valuable of raw materials the metal lithium. The freight car was on its way from a Novosibirsk defense sector enterprise to France via Poland. Criminal proceedings have been instituted, the chain of middlemen is being uncovered, and the purity of this lightest of metals (not aluminum) and its value are being established. This fluctuates between $50 for a kilogram and $1,000 for a single gram.

Comment Urges Left, Right To Support Centrists

MK2107115093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 30, 21-27 Jul 93 pp 1,3 (signed to press 20 Jul 93)

[Lidiya Timofeyeva report under the "What Lies Behind the Fact" rubric: "It Is Still a Center, Albeit a Two-Humped One"]

[Text] Elections have not been called, but an election campaign has already begun. Some political leaders make no bones about their ambitions. Viktor Aksyuchits, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Aleksandr Rutskoy, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and some others have announced that they want to try their hand at the presidential marathon. Others prefer multi-move combinations, keeping a low profile. Seen against the latter backdrop, maneuvers conducted by leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] and the "Renewal" All-Russian Union to jump on two speeding bandwagons at one time—those of the left-of-center and right-of-center blocs—seem neither ambiguous nor cunning. For instance, Nikolay Travkin claims that he has parted with Civic Union at the federal level and has not joined any coalitions. There is evidence, however, that DPR Secretary Yevgeniy Malkin has signed, at the request of the party's secretariat, an agreement to start consultations with the emerging right-of-center bloc. Although the "Renewal" union, represented by Aleksandr Vladislavlev, was one of the first to sign an agreement with Aleksandr Rutskoy setting up a coalition of centrist forces, this did not prevent Aleksandr Dolgolaptev, the party's cochairman, from signing an agreement to begin consultations with the right-of-center bloc. It is also known that Russian Communist Party chief Gennadiy Zyuganov has long conducted talks with Civic Union leaders, but was careful not to say this in public, and even criticized the centrists.

The most aggressive and firm of purpose are the democrats forming the "Russia's Choice" [Vybor Rossii] bloc. This formation does not appear very cohesive, though. First, it brought together many former and current government ministers, which raises suspicions among the voters that they are not sure about their current policies or that they are afraid of possible revelations. In addition, there are too many people there laying claims to the leadership role. They also include "iron democrats," such as Gennadiy Burbulis, Galina Starovoytova, Yegor Gaydar, Vladimir Shumeyko, and others, which poses the threat of the bloc's possible splits.

Internal disagreements also lie in store for the National Salvation Front. It is possible that the "Noah's arc" may break into independent political groupings, adding to the reemerging dangerous bipolar political pattern of Russia.

Come what may, at present we are witnessing the following: The liberal radicals hope to garner (according to their estimates) between 30 and 60 percent of the vote, the centrists (according to Civic Union calculations) between 40 and 50 percent, and the right-wing and left-wing opposition plans to muster from 10 to 15. In the opinion of Aleksandr Oslon and Igor Klyamkin, chiefs of the "Public Opinion" fund, however, public opinion has swung to the left dramatically and become more patriotically minded. This will raise Civic Union's stock first of all, since it has made a turn to the left. In addition, the bloc's popularity is undoubtedly affected by the personality of Aleksandr Rutskoy, whose approval rating remains very high. He continues to inspire both Boris Yeltsin's supporters, as he stays on Yeltsin's team, and opponents, leveling criticism aimed at the government.

In this situation it is extremely important to support the efforts by the left-wing and right-wing centrists alike to help by any means to create and strengthen a centrist bloc, albeit a "two-humped" one (as Oleg Rumyantsev fittingly put it). For the radical democrats and the communists are true to themselves. And the center will help save the country from local and all-Russian civil confrontations on the eve of elections.

Lysenko's Republican Party Claims Nationwide Following

MK2107103093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 30, 21-27 Jul 93 (signed to press 20 Jul) p 2

[Yelena Komarova report in "Parties and Movements" column: "A Visit to Out-of-Town Fellow Party Member"]

[Text] Nikolay Lysenko, leader of the Russian National Republican Party [RNRP], visited Saratov in early July. The prospective leader of the national patriotic bloc met with his fellow thinkers there and addressed a press conference. He reported that the RNRP was planning to set up its Upper Volga center in Saratov (such centers already exist in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rostov-na-Donu, Pskov, Magadan, and Chelyabinsk). A regional newspaper, which is to be published in the city, is called upon to contribute to rallying the patriotic forces. Plans were also discussed for the launching of a new Moscow-based patriotic paper which would compete with the "communist" SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the "extremist" DEN.

As for the upcoming elections, the party, according to its leader, intends to contest them, although it does not as yet count on full success.

Lysenko is optimistic about his party's future since it is facing no financial problems in implementing its projects, while its platform, according to him, is supported by approximately one-third of the voters.

The RNRP, which prior to 1991 was called the Republican People's Party of Russia and emerged on the foundations of the Russian National Patriotic Center, is not among the widely known political organizations. N. Lysenko, one of the former leaders of Pamyat's Leningrad branch, rose to its head in 1990. Under his guidance the RNRP proclaimed itself "a party of Solzhenitsyn's ideas." At present N. Lysenko is laying claim to the role of a political leader on a Russia-wide scale.

Khasbulatov's Disregard of Luzhkov Lawsuit Viewed

PM2207103393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "Luzhkov Suit Against Khasbulatov: Speaker Ostentatiously Disregards Third Power"]

[Text] The capital's Krasnaya Presnya court has deferred three times the hearing of the case involving Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov's suit against Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Let me recall that Yuriy Luzhkov's administration was roused to defend its honor and dignity by the parliament chief's speech on Russian television 4 May. Without burdening himself with proof, anticipating the conclusions of the investigation (it has still not been completed), Khasbulatov suggested to millions of television viewers his own version of the tragic May Day events: "What happened was a preplanned act of provocation by the Moscow authorities." "The executive power was its inspirer and organizer..." "Russian boys were beating up their own fathers on orders from the corrupt municipal bosses and their high-ranking patrons."

Luzhkov is demanding that Khasbulatov issue a denial of these allegations "which discredit and encroach on the honor and dignity" of the city hall. So far he has had no result. Ignoring two pretrial meetings (27 May and 15 June) Sergey Volodin, the spokesman for the parliament head, did not appear at the trial, scheduled for 1 July. The sick note submitted to the court and containing the diagnosis "tachycardia" was actually refuted the same day by Volodin's calm and undisturbed appearance at his job. To journalists' question: "How is your health," the sick man announced that he "had not died yet." And he informed them of the "surprise and perplexity" with which the parliament chairman is receiving the mayor's legal claims.

The next court session is scheduled for 13 August. In the opinion of Ivan Zagradskiy, the chief specialist of the city hall state-legal administration, the behavior of the respondent, who is displaying a total lack of respect for the court, does not promise a speedy examination. Although if there is a further repeated refusal to take part in the court session Khasbulatov could be fined. One hundred rubles.

There is nothing to add here. After his inspired "I spat on your fourth power," the speaker is also displaying his attitude toward the third power, without even resorting to bad language this time. As for Yuriy Luzhkov, he says that the Supreme Soviet chairman "has no basis for his accusations and this shows once again the irresponsibility with which the parliament speaker treats a speech to a television audience of millions of Russians."

One hopeful sensation is this seemingly hopeless case has for some reason gone unnoticed. For the first time one statesman, in defending his honor and dignity, has sued another. One could exclaim on the subject: Lord, are behind the scenes squabbles not enough, is the bad language broadcast daily on television not enough, do we now have to see them going to court! But the court is the only suitable place where an aggrieved politician, especially of state rank, can seek protection. There would be fewer rumors and stories, less public speculation.

Accusing Poltoranin and Shumeyko of corruption, Rutskoy has frequently asked in public: "If they feel they have been slandered, why do they not sue?" Indeed, why not? In defending their personal honor and dignity people who hold state positions are also defending the honor and dignity of the authorities. As Yuriy Luzhkov is trying to do. And not by following the example of the speaker, who respects only one power—his own.

'RTV-Parliament' To Broadcast Daily From Parliament

PM2107110693 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 3

["Own information" report: "Every Day at 1840 Hours"]

[Text] The program "RTV-Parliament" will go out every day at 1840 hours on the second all-Russia TV channel.

It is not likely that many people in Russia who have followed the appearance on air of programs from the recently formed Russian parliamentary television service "RTV-Parliament" realized that all the filming, editing, and production was carried out by the efforts of just... four people. But that is the case. Rimma Altukhova, leader of the parliamentary broadcasting service, explained that people worked literally around the clock with virtually no rest, clubbing together to buy videocasettes and other equipment.

And now, only yesterday, the event they had so impatiently awaited finally arrived—within the walls of Russia's House of Soviets a spacious television studio was opened, equipped with all the necessary equipment, specially for "RTV-Parliament."

"We now have 12 people on the staff—journalists, cameramen, editors," R. Altukhova says. "We have the necessary equipment too. But that is not the most important thing. The main thing is that in two weeks of work we have developed what I am not afraid to call an objective approach to covering the Supreme Soviet's activity."

Indeed, "RTV-Parliament" has willingly given the floor to the president's supporters in parliament, to oppositionists, and to centrists. The founders of the new television service see it as their main task not to present the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's activity in rosy hues, but to show the full spectrum of the complex and contradictory life of Russia's highest representative body.

Further Fedotov Comment on Media Law Amendments

LD2107190193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By correspondent Natalia Chernyshova on news conference given by Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov in Moscow on 21 July, including recording of Fedotov remarks; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Another news conference, at which yet another decision by the parliament was subjected to sharp criticism, was held in Moscow today. The Russian minister for the press thinks President Yeltsin will not sign the media amendment passed by the parliament.

[Chernyshova] For the time being, it is only journalists who got a fright. The Supreme Soviet has adopted a law introducing amendments and supplements to the Russian Federation law on mass media. This was discussed today at a news conference held by Minister for the Press Mikhail Fedotov. The new decision by the parliament provides for the setting up of observer councils at the television and, in essence, allows censorship to be introduced. This is something most of those present have not forgotten and will apparently no longer be able to forget. Observer councils, comprised of deputies, have a right to endorse and release the heads of television and radio companies, and supervise the work of ensuring freedom of speech and quality of output—a mere trifle.

By the way, each innocuous parliamentary decision contradicts the laws that are in force, according to the press minister. Moreover, the parliament adopted this law despite the president's and the government's position.

[Fedotov] As soon as the television is throttled by the observer councils, newspapers will be throttled economically. The freedom of the press will die. The freedom of the press is the first to die, to be followed by all the remaining freedoms and then all of us.

[Chernysheva] This warning is not for journalists alone.

Amendments 'Bristle With Contradictions'

PM2207121593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Georgiy Melikyants report: "Yet Another Attempt To Curb Freedom of Speech"]

[Text] A news conference has been held at the Ministry of the Press and Information. Minister M. Fedotov opened it by addressing the assembled journalists thus: "Esteemed comrades... unfortunately," explaining that the Supreme Soviet's amendments "spell disaster for the freedom of mass information in Russia."

The minister went on to recall the words of Vasiliy Grossman, who said that complex problems always go hand in hand with simple, easily understandable, but incorrect decisions. It seems that a decree on such a complex problem as the activity of the "fourth estate" ought to have been the fruit of detailed discussion, primarily by specialists. Unfortunately, the initiators of the amendments—Deputies Astafyev and Plotnikov for example—are no such thing; they are ignorant of many details of the journalists' profession, as well as of the lives of press workers.

By way of an example M. Fedotov cited the amendment on social guarantees for journalists in conflict zones. Social guarantees are fine, of course, but why only in conflict zones and only for journalists from the state mass media? Can it be that independent press correspondents are unworthy of guarantees? Can it be that journalists do not die either in natural disasters or in mass unrest? Specialists could have explained how to formulate this norm correctly, but they were not asked.

The minister dwelt in particular on the amendments listing grounds for shutting down media outlets. These basically include any attempt to seriously criticize the activities of parliament. Regarding the observers' council which parliament intends to entrust with defending freedom of speech, including the right to remove media directors, M. Fedotov focused attention on its proposed composition: It is to include representatives from 14 factions plus some representatives of the president and the Union of Journalists. The parliamentary side will therefore always have a majority. It is also surprising that the Supreme Soviet has not bothered to explain the basic contradiction: If the observers' council is a public organization, why has it been formed by the Supreme Soviet? If, however, it is an executive organ, then again, what has the Supreme Soviet got to do with it?

The amendments bristle with contradictions. Nor do they take account of the Federation Treaty; instead they impose their decisions regarding the mass media on the components of the Federation without asking their opinion. On the whole, the minister stated, one gets the impression that what we have is not a law on protecting press freedom, but a law enabling parliament to defend itself against the press.

The president and government sent their comments to parliament, but the Supreme Soviet did not even examine them, actually ignoring elementary norms of political life in contravention of the Constitution.

Immediately after the minister's statement, an attempt was made to create a scene at the news conference. A representative of the newspaper DIPLOMATICHESKIY KURYER loudly declared all of the minister's arguments "derisory," without refuting any of them, and suggested that the minister himself should resign. At the same time he asked no questions, and on being admonished said that he was not being given the opportunity to speak. When the rumpus had died down, M. Fedotov said that he has not ruled out resignation in the struggle he has initiated against attempts to limit freedom of information, but this is an extreme measure.

Economic Issues

Food Prices Rising More Slowly Where Deregulated

PM2107144393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Irina Goryacheva of the Center for Economic Conditions under the Russian Government: "Regulated Prices Are Rising More Rapidly Than Free Prices"]

[Text] The Center for Economic Conditions under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government has analyzed current information from state statistics bodies and has obtained interesting results relating to the practice of regulating the prices of basic food commodities.

The beginning of the economic reform in January 1992 was accompanied by a transition from centralized to free pricing, with the prices of a limited number (14 items) of basic foods continuing to be regulated. Since the second quarter of last year the federal authorities have gradually been removing restrictions on prices of essential foods. At the same time, the list of price-regulated commodities has been gradually expanded in practically all regions of Russia by means of local budget funds.

But last year's results did not confirm the effectiveness of price regulation at either federal or regional level. Only in January 1992 was there a sharp difference between the rates at which regulated and free food prices incressed—2.9 and 4.5 times, respectively. In the remaining 11 months of last year the price dynamics for these two groups of food were almost identical.

In 1993 only the prices of bread and baby food have been regulated. At the same time, local organs of power have continued to administratively curb prices of a wider range of basic foodstuffs, which to one degree or another covered practically all 70 monitored food commodities. But in most of the cities in the survey prices of half of these 70 commodities, in the main, were regulated.

In the the first half of 1993 prices of goods subject to price regulation rose more rapidly than those of goods sold at free prices. By the end of June the rate of growth of prices for these groups was 2.9 and 2.7 times (seasonally adjusted for fruit and vegetable products).

At the end of the second quarter of 1993 the number of cities in which administrative price regulation was practiced fell compared with the first quarter of the year (from 122 in March to 101 in June out of 132 monitored). At the same time, there were changes both in the list and in the quantity of goods with regulated prices in individual cities. As a result the scale of price regulation fell from 20 percent to 14 percent. For example, beef prices were regulated in 46 of the monitored cities in March 1993 and in 34 in June; the figures were 98 and 69, respectively, for milk and 44 and 31 for sugar.

The scale of price regulation also varies from economic region to economic region. In June it was 16 percent in the Ural region and 17 percent in the Central region, but it was 9 percent in the East Siberian region. The most significant reduction in the scale of price regulation in June compared with March was in the North and Volga-Vyatka economic regions—12 and 14 percent; in the Ural and Central Chernozem regions it remained the same.

In some regions there was a surge in regulated food prices against the background of a relatively even rise in prices in regions where they were not regulated. For example, the price of one kilogram of beef in the Republic of Tatarstan suddenly rose 1.9 times in June compared with May (from 460 rubles [R] to R860) and the price of one liter of milk rose 2.8 times (from R16 to R45) in Norilsk.

As a result of an administrative increase in the prices of individual foodstuffs by local administrations, with other foods freely priced, prices in these regions (compared with regions where price regulation was not practiced) increased in the main at the same and sometimes at a higher rate. For instance, in Yaroslavl Oblast (Central economic region), where the local administration regulates the prices of 41 of the 70 monitored food products, prices increased by 16 percent in June (3.4 times since the start of the year), while in other oblasts, where regulation was not practiced, the increase in prices was as follows: 3 percent (3.3 times) in Bryansk Oblast; 14 percent (2.8 times) in Tver Oblast, and 14 percent (2.9 times) in Kaluga Oblast.

It should be noted that absolute levels of prices of individual food products which are subject to regulation are not always the lowest in the region compared with the prices of similar products sold in other nearby cities at free prices. For example, in the Volga-Vyatka economic region the regulated price of one kilogram of beef in Yoshkar-Ola was R1,164 in June, while the free price was R885 in Kirov and, in the Central region, R1,050 in Yaroslavl and R787 in Bryansk.

Government's Economic Development Forecast Analyzed

PM2207090193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by A. Yevgenyev under the "Forecast" rubric: "Where Is Destiny Leading Us?"]

[Text] The Russian Government Center for the Economic Situation has prepared an analysis of the economy's development during the second half of the current year. What lies in store for us in the immediate future?

Judging by the specialists' computations, no miracles are foreseen. Many phenomena will be characterized by inertia. Nevertheless, some slowdown in the rate of economic decline can be expected. The reduction in the generation of national income and of GNP will not exceed 11-13 percent in comparable prices, against 20 percent in 1992.

Despite the fact that average monthly production output has stayed at the same level for two months now, it is still premature to talk of the crisis in industry being overcome, experts believe, for stabilization has taken place at too low a level. In 1993 industry will evidently lose a further 13-15 percent of its level. In addition, the structure of the Russian economy will continue to grow bottom-heavy, since the rate of the downturn in basic sectors, especially in the fuel and energy complex and metallurgy, is expected to be smaller than in industry as a whole.

At the same time the document notes that, given a balanced incomes policy, structural shifts in the direction of consumer sector growth should be more clearly delineated in 1993. There are grounds for supposing that on 15 of the 20 most important types of product in the food industry output will fall more slowly, or else will begin to increase. The production of nonfood consumer goods will be stabilized. This applies especially to refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, television sets, and sewing machines. Unfortunately, light industry is unlikely to shake off its yoke. It will remain at the mercy of raw material import deliveries—especially leather and cotton. The downturn in agriculture is forecast to be a little less than last year—5 percent as against 8 percent.

Inflation will also remain high. Consumer prices will grow over the year as a whole by a factor of 9.5-11.5.

This is attributable not only to the huge inflation potential accumulated earlier, but also to the fact that there have been no substantial changes in the behavioral incentives applied to enterprises. As before, huge credit injections are made, quite divorced from any kind of selective structural policy. There has still not been a single bankruptcy. Nonpayments are increasing. It cannot be ruled out, the center's experts believe, that enterprises will have to resort either to reciprocal debt write-offs in 1993 as well, or to drawing up long term commitments. Otherwise circumstances will force the money supply to be increased even more in response to rising prices.

High inflation leaves no hopes for an increase in investment activity. Although the volume of capital investments shrunk by 45 percent last year, even given the most favorable course of events, it will decrease by another 10-15 percent this year.

The situation in foreign trade looks more favorable to experts. The volume of exports will evidently be close to last year's level, and will putatively amount to the sum of $38 billion. Moreover, the third and fourth quarters will see an increase of exports of machines and equipment, whose production cycle is significantly longer than in the extracting sectors. At the same time imports will be reduced by $23 billion.

The forecast in the social sphere is not encouraging. The fall in living standards will continue, at best being confined to 5-10 percent. The subsistence minimum is expected to reach 68,000-70,000 rubles in December. The gap between rich and poor in society will become even wider. Whereas in December of last year the richest 10 percent were 8.7 times better off than the poorest 10 percent, by the end of 1993 this gap will rise to 10 times.

Given the existing construction rate, it will not be possible to provide Russians with living space within the established norm (12 square meters per head of the population) even by 1995. Moreover, there will still be less than one room per person. The housing list will be supplemented by refugees and servicemen. The situation in the labor market will deteriorate. The number of Russian assigned unemployed status will grow by a factor of 2.5 over the year and will reach 2.6 million.

The first signs of improvement will appear only in the following year, 1994, experts believe. And the general stabilization of the economy will begin a year later.

Admittedly, this forecast looks somewhat artificial. Especially against the background of the rather gloomy prospects for the current year. A firm foundation is needed for serious changes. Clearly, it must be laid this year. It is not only a question of a rational financial and credit strategy. It is equally important, finally, to elaborate a well thought-out selection policy and get down to implementing it. At least to begin mass recovery programs for "sick-bed" industries. Otherwise in a year's time we will be talking about insuperable forces of inertia, in effect acknowledging that all the sacrifices we have had to make have been in vain.

Lobov Given Four Days To Draft Economic Strategy

MK2207100093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Vladislav Borodulin report: "Government Draws Up Anti-Crisis Program. Four Days Given To Devise Strategy"]

[Text] The government's preparation for the All-Russian Economic Conference and an expanded Council of Ministers meeting (contemplated to be the major political events this summer) is being conducted along two lines. This involves, first, practical "work" with the regions—First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets' visit to Perm today opens a series of regional meetings of leading federal government members with representatives of local authorities and the industrial establishment. Second, the government has begun preparations for a theoretical discussion with the opposition—yesterday, a Council of Ministers decree on starting the drafting of a Program of Urgent Measures To Lift Russia Out of Economic Crisis for the Period up to 1995 was sent for official distribution.

Under the decree, a commission headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Lobov will have to draw up yet another anti-crisis program. Given that a lack of a thought-out economic strategy was one of the weightiest arguments in the hands of the opposition, this program should be seen as the government's attempt to get rid of the image of simple "managers" and to devise their own model of the development of national economy at least for the middle term.

At the same time, there have been certain doubts even in government circles as to whether the commission has managed to achieve the stated objectives. The primary reason for this is that it has been given only four days to devise the program—the day after tomorrow its draft has to be presented to the government. Thus, the only thing that commission members will have time to do is to "sew together" the government's fairly vaguely articulated vision of the ways of economic reform with suggestions of independent economists and proposals by the Russian Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Union [RIEU] (Yevgeniy Yasin, chief of the RIEU's expert institute, was appointed to the commission). Moreover, even this work may be hindered by a fairly motley makeup of the commission—significant differences of views do not give ground for hopes for any positive results of this fleeting "brain wave."

Notably, it was Oleg Lobov who was appointed commission chief. On the one hand, it is precisely the first deputy prime minister, brought into the government at the president's prompting, who should be responsible for the drawing up of the cabinet's economic strategy. Nonetheless, he spent the first three months of his tenure, like most of his colleagues, solving purely technical matters related primarily to the expansion of the Economy Ministry's functions. It cannot be ruled out that the prime minister's decision was affected by Oleg Lobov's reputation as an advocate of the state's regulating role in the process of economic reform. This may help neutralize, both at the economic conference and afterward, government critics in the center of the political spectrum who make a stand for the "Chinese model" of transition to a market economy.

According to another school of thought, articulated by a representative of the presidential administration, a more likely scenario is further segmentation of the government. According to the official, Oleg Lobov's appointment and the fact that he was entrusted with a task extremely difficult to perform look like Viktor Chernomyrdin's attempt to make his deputy the main target of criticism from the opposition. If the draft program is turned down at the economic conference and (which is likely) at the subsequent Council of Ministers meeting, this will be a fitting pretext for moving Oleg Lobov to another post. The administration staffer presumed that this demand of the opposition—if it is voiced at the economic conference or at the "big" Council of Ministers meeting—may be discreetly supported by Viktor Chernomyrdin: the ousting of the president's confidant from the government will give the prime minister more room for reaching a compromise with the parliament, an idea that is not ruled out on Staraya Ploshchad.

Work of Agrarian Union Congress Viewed

PM2207105193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by observer Aleksandr Gavrilyuk: "There Is No One To Take Charge of the Countryside. No One Has Time"]

[Text] It took agrarians three years to get together and then conclude their second congress in just one day.

What was the outcome? Delegates were of the opinion that agricultural production has been devastated rather than thoroughly reformed, nothing has been done to develop the storage and processing base, and the social infrastructure has been dealt a crippling blow.

There was a constant hubbub in the Hall of Columns, which is normal for agrarian gatherings, and the presence of the prime minister, vice president, and deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet in the presidium gave an illusion of importance to the proceedings. But the purpose of the meeting was not quite clear at first: Surely the country's leaders and the delegates already knew that our agriculture is in agony?

But Viktor Anpilov's appearance in the hall, where he made a speech, and the presence in the presidium of Vasiliy Starodubtsev of the [August 1991] State Committee for the State of Emergency shifted the emphasis toward politics. Besides, where is the dividing line between economics and politics, say, in the question of going abroad to buy grain, butter, rice, meat, and everything else stored in abundance in our collective and state farms? One cannot in fact take Viktor Chernomyrdin's statement seriously: Namely, that all this is happening simply because Russia has been given credit abroad for 15 years and that food bought abroad will not have to be paid for now, but sometime in the future. It is not hard to guess what will become of our peasants in the meantime. In the last few years alone, 10 million fewer hectares have been sown to grain and the livestock headcount has declined by tens of millions.

Aleksandr Rutskoy, now removed from agrarian affairs, added fuel to the fire by accusing the government of being unable and unwilling to work. Moreover, according to the vice president, it has become an agitation center: First it agitated for a referendum, then it interpreted its results, and now it is fighting to create a new Constitution. The government does not have time for agrarian matters. The fact that this was basically said to Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's face, and also to that of Aleksandr Zaveryukha, his deputy responsible for the agro-industrial complex, and Minister Viktor Khlystun, added zest to the situation. The prime minister rejected the accusations.

It is not my place to act as arbiter in the polemics of such high-ranking officials, but the wrangling has revealed the amazing circumstances of relations between the country's leaders.

Apparently, the vice president, who was head of the agrarian sector until recently, and the head of government hardly ever met to discuss the situation in rural areas, and written proposals sent to Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin] by Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy] remained unanswered because they were "incomprehensible".

The question of who actually conducts agrarian policy in our country has been left hanging in the air. It was clear before that it is not the Ministry of Agriculture, and now it is clear that it is not the deputy head of government who recently took up office either. So who is it then? After listening to Viktor Chernomyrdin's speech, you get the impression that no one is conducting agrarian policy. This is probably the reason why the hundreds of decrees, decisions, and edicts on agrarian questions that have issued from the pen of the government and the president have not been implemented.

To all appearances, the confusion in the leadership forced the congress delegates to concentrate on rallying everyone connected with the agro-industrial complex—in order to take political as well as economic action, as Vasiliy Starodubtsev said. He was warmly supported in this. Furthermore, according to Mikhail Lapshin, leader of the agrarian faction in the Supreme Soviet, there cannot be a market economy unless the peasants organize themselves politically, because the market means dialogue, debate, and haggling—primarily with the government.

There was no dialogue at the congress. It was more a monologue, with one side—the agrarians—asking the questions and the other—the government and its head—frequently being unprepared to answer them.

How, for example, can one work if the prices of basic agricultural products have yet to be determined? Or take the tragic situation with mineral fertilizer: Half as much is plowed into arable land as before.

Against this background, the story of the Novgorod "Azot" Plant's privatization seems incomprehensible, to put it mildly. It cost $1.5 billion to build, but was valued at 500 million rubles [R]. When it became a joint-stock enterprise, 31.7 percent of the shares were acquired by someone called Kantor—a former compatriot who now lives in the United States—for just $200,000; 2 percent were bought by the plant director and just under 2 percent by his deputy. Last year alone, these three made a profit of $32 million from the sale of the plant's output abroad. Licenses issued by the government for the export of mineral fertilizers come as a complete surprise. With a total output of 2.5 million tonnes, licenses have been issued for 3.844 million tonnes. This is virtually all phosphorus and potassium, and 220 percent of nitrogen. Hence the paradox.

All in all, the congress was rich in strange situations.

The head of government's speech was also strange. Having said that budget allocations for agriculture will amount to R2.2 trillion, for some reason he did not say that it is planned to cut investments in agriculture by 15 percent. He talked about ending agricultural imports, but he said nothing about how the government intends to fill the resulting vacuum. After all, only 28 of the country's 88 republics, krays, and oblasts are capable of sustaining themselves independently. It seems that nothing new was said at all, apart from allocating R900 billion in the form of preferential credits at an annual interest rate of 25 percent for the third quarter.

So, did the congress achieve its aim? Yes, probably. Now the government has felt the force of the Agrarian Union, which has essentially been the sole spokesman of the peasantry since 1990.

Military Issues

Shaposhnikov No Longer in Control of Nuclear Button

MK2107100093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 30, 25 Jul 93 (signed to press 20 Jul) p A10

[Unattributed report under the "Events, Comments" rubric: "Shaposhnikov Has Nuclear Button Taken Away From Him"]

[Text] According to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI information from confidential sources, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, has been deprived of the nuclear button.

Right after having been appointed secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, Shaposhnikov received a telephone call from Defense Minister Pavel Grachev who tactfully demanded that he turn in the secret little case. Later in the day, a group of armed men arrived in the marshal's office and "expropriated" the nuclear button. From now on the masters of the "weapons of retribution" are Boris Yeltsin and Pavel Grachev.

The confidential sources are silent on who sanctioned this action. One of the "nuclear footballs," as is known, was handed to the former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces at the decision of the Council of Heads of State. If it has now been taken away with the Russian Federation president's knowledge, but without approval from the heads of state, this may mean, aside from everything else, that Russia has given up the Joint Armed Forces idea, and the Commonwealth's prospects. If Boris Yeltsin does not have his finger in the pie (which is unlikely), it should be recognized that top generals are coming to play a totally independent role in politics. It is quite possible that the Russian president of the times of the constitutional process has no greater grip on the situation than the Gorbachev of Novo-Ogarevo times.

Shaposhnikov has thus commented on the Defense Ministry's hasty move: "The impression is that the Russian military agency could not wait to deprive me of control over the nuclear forces."

The defense minister and the secretary of the Russian Federation Defense Council are on record as advocating different military doctrines. Grachev considers as priority tasks the creation of national armies, while Shaposhnikov thinks the priority is the creation of Joint Armed Forces. This partially accounts for their ideas of who should hold the nuclear button. It looks like arguing at a conceptual level, however, is over.

Security Concept, Potential Threats Viewed

PM2107120593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 2

[Anatoliy Dokuchayev report: "Russia. Interests. Security. Notes from Scientific-Practical Conference"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported, a conference organized by the Russian Security Council entitled "The Russian Federation's Security Concept: Problems of Elaboration and Implementation" was held 16 July in the conference hall of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. It covered urgent questions from the viewpoint both of today's practical tasks of developing a new

Russian statehood and of the country's long-term interests. The main report was delivered by Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council.

The necessity and urgency of a detailed discussion of problems of elaborating and implementing Russia's security concept are dictated by the fact that these problems require an organic combination of progressive scientific thinking with the practice of state building and with the development of a new world order. On this plane this conference was no exception.

Let us take a brief look back over the way these questions have been tackled. A solid legislative base has now been developed. The laws "On Security" and "On Defense" have been adopted. The Statute on the Russian Federation Security Council, validated by the president's edict, is operating. In April of this year Boris Yeltsin approved an important state act—"Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy Concept." This is essentially one of the main elements of the security concept, its foreign policy part. And yet today there is no single basic doctrinal document. The conference participants, I will note, talked about the creation (for the first time in Russian history) of just such a document.

Moreover, the existing legal acts have serious flaws. This has been shown by our politicians' confusion and inaction in connection with the recent situation that arose in Tajikistan following the large-scale attack by Afghan mojahedin on Russian border guards post no. 12 and the deaths of our soldiers and officers. Under the law "On Defense" the president and the government do not have powers to use troops outside the country, while parliament, as is known, is a collective organ, and decision-making there can drag on indefinitely. It was learned at the conference that it is already proposed to make changes to the law "On Defense."

Let us return, however, to Russia's security concept. In the opinion of the conference participants, the basic doctrinal document must be underpinned by the Constitution and adopted laws and be a kind of basis for concepts and doctrines in all spheres of security: economic, political, social, military, ecological, etc. The main purpose of the concept is to ensure the linking of all these doctrines and to assert general principles—unified principles of shaping and implementing policy in all areas of ensuring security. It must focus within itself goals and tasks and ways and means of achieving them which correspond to Russia's historical place and destiny in the world community and to its role under present conditions and in the long term. It must ensure the coordination of actions by the whole state and the whole people to ensure security on the national, regional, and global levels and the organization of intrastate and interstate cooperation in resolving emergency and long-term security tasks.

The conference participants also talked about the concept's structure. It was pointed out that it must include six or seven basic modules or blocks.

In the block devoted to Russia's place and role in the modern world it is proposed to reflect the historical roots of Russian statehood, the main trends and prospects of contemporary internal political and international development, and a substantiation and depiction in relief of Russia's geopolitical status as a great power.

A systematic exposition of Russia's vital interests will constitute the second block. It will contain formulas for its national, regional, and global interests, criteria for deciding their priority, and principled positions and decisive approaches to their guaranteed protection.

The concept needs a block revealing the security strategy. It must contain the strategy's general provisions and include a characterization and classification of challenges and threats to security; the main areas for ensuring security and for planning and implementing federal comprehensive programs in the political, socioeconomic, military, scientific-technical, humanitarian, and other spheres; and areas and methods of coordinated activity by organs and structures of all branches of power in ensuring the security of society and the state.

The block showing the basis of the functioning of the security system must examine in detail the mechanism for organizing cooperation among all the elements of the security system and coordinating their efforts vertically and horizontally. It must set forth the basic principles of security and the forms and methods of utilizing the forces and means involved in ensuring it and implementing the leadership and management of the security system.

What kind of document should express the aspects of the national security concept? In the opinion of a number of participants, a good system is proposed in the law "On Security," which, incidentally, works well in many states, including the United States. It is a question of an annual report by the president, which he would present to parliament.

The conference participants devoted the majority of the time to a discussion of Russia's security problems. All proceeded from the legal provision that security is achieved by implementing a unified state policy and by a concerted, coordinated, balanced system of measures consonant with the threats to the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state. This is indicated by the subjects of the speeches. Here are some of them: "military aspects of ensuring the Russian Federation's security"; "the position of the Russian diaspora in the new foreign countries as a security problem for Russia"; "urgent problems of ensuring federal security"; and "protecting the rights of the individual and ensuring law and order are the most important tasks of society and the state in the security sphere."

It was pointed out at the conference that security is of an integral nature. It is the aggregate result of the combined efforts of all federal, regional, and local authorities and executives and of all the forces and means at the disposal of the state and of all public organizations and citizens. This means it is necessary to think about what the mechanism of the integration, coordination, and adoption of decisions should be like.

The security concept must reflect ways and methods of resolving another problem too, namely the problem of Russian statehood. It is multidimensional and includes a number of interconnected tasks. The priority among them falls to the task of ensuring state sovereignty and territorial integrity and preventing the Russian Federation's disintegration.

It was emphasized that a most important problem is that of maintaining stability on the territory of the Russian Federation while developing and strengthening its constitutional system. The uniqueness of the current transitional period consists, in particular, in the fact that it mainly consists in profound qualitative transformations in all spheres of society's life. It was pointed out at the conference that these cannot proceed painlessly and smoothly. But it is important that violations of stability do not assume a catastrophic nature or spread but are extinguished in good time.

The problem of ensuring the country's reliable defense against any external threats, including military threats, remains urgent and complex. Such defense, it was declared at the conference, must be built on two chief mainstays: the maintenance of the necessary and adequate defense potential, and the building of a stable system of international relations in all spheres, including politics, economics, the social sphere, and ecology.

The speediest surmounting of the profound internal crisis was named as an urgent security problem for a Russia which is renewing itself. This problem can only be resolved on the basis of profound socioeconomic and political transformations. The paramount role here is played by ensuring economic security by means, above all, of the economy's stable development and the raising of the people's living standards. It was pointed out that one of the main conditions for resolving this task is Russia's participation with full rights in the system of world economic ties. At the same time it must be taken into account that our economy's active and profound inclusion in the world economy creates new problems connected in one way or another with security. These include crisis phenomena, unemployment, currency upheavals, and unregulated transfusions of capital. Hence the task of mastering the art of foreseeing possible destabilizing influences, working out a methodology for taking timely, compensatory socioeconomic measures, and enshrining it in the security concept.

The following were named at the conference among the urgent security problems: the problem of realizing the rights and protecting the interests of ethnic minorities—representatives of Russian Federation peoples—in the former union republics; the problem of ensuring the rights and interests of Russian citizens and organizations abroad—in both further and nearer foreign countries; the problem of maintaining normal ecological conditions for our society's vital activity; and the problem of data processing and ensuring information security.

Threats to Russia's security were analyzed at the conference. The participants also concentrated their attention on aspects of a general security strategy. It was recognized that the response to threats must be consonant with the nature and scale of these threats, timely, and preemptive. The security strategy must define the optimum combination of the interests of internal regional and national security and provide for the rational and efficient utilization of all forces and means involved in resolving tasks of ensuring security and for the guaranteed ensuring of Russia's military-political security.

The conference participants also analyzed a number of other aspects of ensuring national security. The discussion showed that it is impossible to resolve the questions raised effectively and adequately without comprehensive scientific study and a scientific base. Proposals were made on coordinating the activities of dozens of scientific research establishments and analytical centers involved to one degree or another in tackling security problems in various spheres. In particular, it was proposed to define one of the leading scientific establishments as the head establishment and to assign it to the Security Council. This could, for example, be the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies. The other establishments would remain with ministries and departments and be geared to providing scientific backup for resolving tasks set for them. This could substantially optimize work on elaborating ways, mechanisms, forms, and methods of efficiently and reliably ensuring Russia's security.

[Article includes the following boxed passage entitled "Threats to Russia's Security"]

External Threats

In the political sphere:

—impairment of the Russian Federation's integrity, notably by exploiting interethnic and interreligious contradictions;

—territorial claims on the Russian Federation;

—curtailment of integration processes in the CIS;

—weakening of the Russian Federation's ties with former USSR republics, with East European countries, and also with other states in regions of traditional cooperation;

—instability of state structures of power in contiguous countries or legalization of criminal structures as new state formations;

—armed conflicts, violations of human rights and freedoms in contiguous countries, and uncontrollable migration processes provoked by them;

—narrowing of the Russian Federation's role in resolving key international problems and the activities of international organizations.

In the economic sphere:

—weakening of the Russian Federation's economic independence, degradation of its technological and industrial potential, and consolidation of fuel and raw material specialization in the world economy;

—limiting of Russia's presence on a number of foreign markets and also its ousting from them;

—blocking of Russia's access to advanced technology;

—uncontrolled exports of capital and individual strategically important raw material commodities out of Russia;

—resistance to Russia's participation with full rights in international mechanisms of financial-economic and trade regulation;

—the unsettled nature of Russia's trade and economic relations with former union republics.

In the military sphere:

—existing and potential hotbeds of local wars and armed conflicts, above all in the immediate proximity of Russian borders;

—unsettled questions in managing and monitoring the strategic nuclear forces of the former USSR;

—proliferation of nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons, delivery vehicles, and the latest military production technologies in conjunction with attempts by individual countries to use them in realizing their military and political ends;

—violation of the defense system's integrity and vagueness of the regime of the Russian state border, particularly in the southern and western salients;

—unsettled questions relating to the legal status of the presence of Russian troops on the territory of nearby foreign states;

—the presence of nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons in the large arsenals of a number of states;

—possibility of undermining strategic stability as the result of a violation of the nuclear nonproliferation regime and of international accords in the sphere of limiting and reducing arms and a qualitative and quantitative arms buildup by other countries;

—a persistent threat of international terrorism and blackmail, including the use of nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons.

In the ecological sphere:

—above all, threats of a technogenic [tekhnogennyy] nature and threats arising as a consequence of ecological disasters in contiguous states and also forming as a result of long-term factors.

Internal Threats

—threats connected with the shaping of qualitatively new federalism and relations between the center and the regions;

—threats connected with tension in the socioeconomic sphere;

—organized crime and corruption;

—threats arising as a result of friction on ethnic grounds.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

"Forces and Means for Resolving Tasks of Ensuring Security"

—the Armed Forces;

—federal security organs;

—organs of internal affairs, foreign intelligence, for ensuring the security of organs of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary and their top officials, and the tax service;

—services for dealing with the aftermath of emergency situations and civil defense formations;

—border troops;

—internal troops;

—organs ensuring the secure performance of work in industry, power generation, transportation, and agriculture;

—services for ensuring the security of means of communication and information and customs;

—nature conservation organs;

—organs to protect the population's health, and others.

Navy Chief Gromov Interviewed

MK2107091093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 30, 21-27 Jul 93 (signed to press 20 Jul) p 2

[Interview with Admiral Feliks Gromov, Navy commander in chief, by unidentified correspondent from "In the Approach to Navy Day" column: "Under the St. Andrew's Ensign. Feliks Gromov, Russian Federation Navy commander in chief, Responds to Questions From ROSSIYA;" place and date not given]

[Text] [ROSSIYA] Comrade Admiral, history has made yet another spiral. And again the Russian Navy has reemerged on the map of the world ocean. Soon it will be marking its 300th anniversary. What is the Russian Navy like today?

[Gromov] Russia is indeed a naval power with more than 38,000 km of maritime borders. The capitals of its military fleets are stationed as though outposts: Kaliningrad and Severomorsk, Vladivostok and Sevastopol. The Russian Navy has virtually all types of ships and vessels: nuclear missile-carrying submarines and aircraft carriers, nuclear missile cruisers and destroyers, antisubmarine and landing vessels, including Hovercraft, tankers, and tenders.... One should not overlook the fact that the high mobility and combat readiness of its naval forces and facilities enable the Navy to be used without territorial limitations to address the most diverse tasks both in wartime and in peacetime.

To be sure, the Navy today has plenty of problems. These include the repositioning of forces in connection with the pullout of forces from the Baltics, and the well-known events on the Black Sea.... Add here the lack of accommodation for commissioned officers and members of their families.

[ROSSIYA] Feliks Nikolayevich, on the eve of Navy Day it does not seem to be right to "rub it in," but let us talk about Russkiy island, where seamen en masse became sick owing to a meager diet and hard living and service conditions. What is the situation there now, and is it possible to breathe a sigh of relief?

[Gromov] The situation on Russkiy island is now under close and strict oversight. A whole number of organizational and cadre measures have been taken to ensure due order there. At the end of June I again visited the Pacific Fleet and personally studied the changes that had occurred in training units on Russkiy island. At present commanders and chiefs at all levels understand that their main duty is constant care about the personnel placed in their charge. The housing construction plan, provided it is financed adequately, will be carried out without any doubt.

[ROSSIYA] How do you assess the situation in the areas where Russian Navy servicemen are doing their duty? What is the relationship today with our hitherto main "rival"—the U.S. Navy?

[Gromov] Overall, the situation could be assessed as stable. Today there is no threat of a bloc war.

At the same time it could not be unequivocally maintained that possible contradictions will not emerge in the next few years. This fully refers to all parts of the world ocean where Russian seamen are fulfilling their tasks.

In upholding its national interests, and primarily economic interests, Russia cannot but rely on its maritime powers. This fully applies not only to the protection of its sea borders but also to the defense of Russian maritime shipping and fishing and fighting smuggling and terrorism.

On the relationship with the navies of the United States and the NATO countries, on one hand, elements of partnership are increasing and contacts are expanding. The missile cruiser Marshal Ustinov, the big antisubmarine ship Admiral Kharlamov, and the tanker Dniester recently called at Boston; the destroyer Bezuderzhnyy made an official visit to New York. United States and Russian Navy ships in the Persian Gulf and in the Baltics are performing some elements of joint actions. All of this, without a doubt, are positive moments.

At the same time we are somewhat concerned over the actions of U.S. Navy nuclear submarines near our coasts. In my opinion, these are the "lingering effects" of the "cold war."

[ROSSIYA] Service in which of our fleets would you recommend to a lieutenant who is dreaming of becoming an admiral?

[Gromov] Each sea region has its specifics—uniqueness, if you like. For a naval officer any sea theater is interesting and dear in its own way. The main thing is to have the wish and aspiration to serve, a feeling of romanticism and devotion to one's endeavor.

Supreme Soviet

Deputies Reject Proposal To View Sevastopol Decision

LD2207081493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0720 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 22 Jul— The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has rejected a proposal to reconsider its earlier decision on Sevastopol. At today's joint sitting of chambers deputies voted against a proposal of their colleague Aleksandr Kopeyka, who insisted on including this question in today's agenda. [passage omitted] However, Deputy Kopeyka's arguments failed to convince the other deputies, who voted against his proposal.

They also rejected the proposal put forward by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, to hear Nikolay Gonchar, chairman of the Moscow soviet, who was to present a report on the situation in Sevastopol. [passage omitted]

Reaction to Decision Suspending Privatization Decree

Shumeyko Comments on Decision

LD2107131893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] After a brief break during his leave, Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, resumed his traditional meetings with journalists. The range of issues discussed today chiefly related to closely interlinked problems: the economic reforms and the new draft constitution. It seems that the constitution is not only capable of assisting the implementation of the new reformist policy but is, at times, also capable of quite tangibly impeding it.

In Shumeyko's view, an example of this was the decision yesterday by the Supreme Soviet to revoke the president's decree on guarantees of the rights of citizens during privatization. Shumeyko stated that this is by no means the only attempt by parliament to hinder implementation of the new economic policy.

Despite the existing provision that presidential decrees should be examined within 10 days, decrees on land reform and on the running of privatized enterprises through agents—which are so essential today—have already been waiting at the Supreme Soviet for 6 months, as well as amendments to the laws on the Central Bank and privatization.

The Supreme Soviet is taking even more active actions in initiating the organization of an all-Russian economic conference, the aim of which, Shumeyko believes, is to prove that the government is not tackling the economy, has become bogged down in politics, and thus has forced the Supreme Soviet to take the government's role upon itself.

'Savage Struggle' Over Issue

LD2107224093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1640 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—The Supreme Soviet's suspension of the Russian president's decree "On State Guarantees for the Right of the Citizens of Russia To Participate in Privatization"—a decree which guarantees that people in Russia have the right to a share of state property—and also parliament's adoption of a document envisaging the transfer of the powers of the State Committee for the Management of State Property to the sectoral ministries amount to a carefully planned attempt to destroy privatization, which is a key element in economic reform. This is spelled out in a statement by Russia's State Committee for the Management of State Property, issued today.

It is well known, the statement says, that these decisions do not exhaust the list of measures that it is proposed to adopt against privatization. In the Supreme Soviet, there exist other drafts that envisage the replacement of privatization vouchers by named privatization accounts, and also the suspension of the state privatization program for 1992, the statement says.

In an interview with the Ostankino Radio and Television Company, Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays declared today that the Supreme Soviet's latest decisions are aimed at curtailing privatization. He announced that he had discussed the situation with the president and head of the government. "The necessary decisions will be taken," he assured.

For his part, Vladimir Mazayev, chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Supreme Soviet, emphasized at a news conference today that privatization must proceed at a more suitable pace and be more orderly.

Vladimir Mazayev indicated that the Supreme Soviet's decision does not mean either any "cancellation of vouchers" or the "curtailment of privatization." Touching on the question of removing the powers of ther State Committee for the Management of State Property, Vladimir Mazayev pointed out that the committee cannot cope with the state property management functions laid upon it. The chairman of the parliamentary commission recalled that just such an assessment was given to his department yesterday by Anatoliy Chubays himself, speaking in parliament.

At the same time, in an ITAR-TASS interview, Georgiy Zadonskiy, a member of the parliamentary Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes and Prices, described the Supreme Soviet's decision to suspend the validity of the presidential decree on privatization as hasty. "The suspension of privatization benefits the mafia structures and those from whom the Supreme Soviet is supposed to be protecting state property," and halting the process means stopping the distribution of the material means that should stand behind the voucher, Georgiy Zadonskiy thinks.

A savage struggle between the representatives of monetary and trade capital, on the one hand, and those who express the interests of productive capital, on the other—that is how the privatization process in Russia looks, according to Aleksandr Belyayev, chairman of the St. Petersburg City Soviet. In his view, "the government is more inclined to support the first group, while the Supreme Soviet prefers the second."

Belyayev imagines that it is this struggle that caused the Supreme Soviet to appeal to the Constitutional Court, asking it to check the constitutional legality of the relevant presidential decree. He himself thinks that the privatization process, like any other matter, cannot be stopped halfway.

Chubays on Suspension of Decree

LD2107154693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Interview with Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, by correspondent Ivan Pankov in Moscow on 21 July; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pankov] What was the reason behind your walkout from the Supreme Soviet yesterday?

[Chubays] It was caused by the fact that it had become clear that it was obviously pointless to have any serious discussion whatsoever in that atmosphere and with that composition of the Supreme Soviet. It was pointless because it is apparent that something that essentially affects millions of people is being sacrificed to personal political ends and to the interests of this political game. The decree by its very name—the decree on guarantees of the rights of citizens during privatization—the president guarantees the rights of citizens during privatization. This decree has indeed been taking effect. This is causing the greatest anger and is causing the desire to deprive citizens of these guarantees, simply in order to damage the president and damage the government and stop privatization.

[Pankov] Why do you believe that the application by the Supreme Soviet to the Constitutional Court for the legality of the decree to be checked will harm matters?

[Chubays] For the simple reason that handing it over to the Constitutional Court is a cover for those who are ill-informed. It is an outer shell behind which lies the most important thing. That most important thing is that the force of the decree is suspended from the moment a decision is made to pass it to the Constitutional Court. After that, no one cares what the Constitutional Court decides. No one cares exactly what the court's actual attitude will be. That does not matter to the authors of the Supreme Soviet decision. The only thing that matters is that the force of the decree was suspended beginning yesterday. The Constitutional Court can take three months, perhaps five months, to examine the document. It could reach the decision that the document has no faults whatsoever and can again be brought into force, but time will have been wasted.

I discussed this matter today with the prime minister. The prime minister talked to the president today, so the necessary decision will be made.

Chubays Comments on 'Scandal'

PM2107144993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 3

[Irina Savvateyeva report: "Voucher of Contention"]

[Text] The scandal over the cancelation of vouchers and the introduction of privatization accounts seems to have reached its peak. Yesterday afternoon A. Chubays urgently gathered journalists in order to tell them an urgent piece of news: At its evening session parliament was preparing to examine drafts of two "antivoucher" decrees. These documents provide for the powers of Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property] to be transferred to ministries and for a check to be made of the constitutionality of the president's edict on guarantees for citizens' rights to participate in privatization.

The draft decree on replacing checks with investment accounts is still not being examined. But the approval of the first two documents is quite sufficient to put an end to voucher privatization. According to the law, any Yeltsin edict is suspended the moment it is sent for examination to the Constitutional Court.

"Does this mean that all check auctions will be suspended tomorrow?"

"Goskomimushchestvo is prepared for countermeasures," Chubays replied to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's question.

The Goskomimushchestvo chairman considers the idea of investment accounts totally unfeasible, even from a purely technical viewpoint. The banks today cannot cope with serving 200,000 corporate bodies. If it is necessary to process a further 150 million accounts of individuals, the banking system will end up in a state of total collapse.

"I do not believe that anyone is seriously gambling on privatization accounts. All the games are being undertaken in order to destroy what has already been done: to halt the check privatization," Chubays summed up.

Move 'Halts Privatization'

PM2207110793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Aleksandr Volgin, president of the Russian League for the Promotion of Investment Funds, by Vladimir Kovalevskiy; place and date not given, under the general heading "Parliament Tries to Remove People's Right To Own Their Own Property"]

[Text] On the eve of this sacramental parliamentary decision, which to all intents and purposes halts privatization, the Russian League for the Promotion of Investment Funds Board held an emergency session. There was one question on the agenda—a discussion and assessment of certain draft decrees. We talked with Aleksandr Volgin, president of the league.

[Volgin] After reading the documents, the league board members were in shock for a while. Quite honestly, we could not believe that the Supreme Soviet would adopt and ratify two of these antipopular documents. The league's appeal to the Supreme Soviet calling on the parliamentarians to show good sense seems, despite the urgency with which it was made, to have arrived too late and gone unheeded. Parliament has to all intents and purposes ignored the fate of the tens of millions of Russian citizens who believed in privatization and the government program. What has been done can be compared to an attempt to cut the engines of an aircraft that has already taken off.

[Kovalevskiy] Were you sent drafts of the decrees from the Supreme Soviet?

[Volgin] We obtained them ourselves. Everything was kept secret from the check funds. Incidentally, the Supreme Soviet is to all intents and purposes trying to "kill" a program which it approved itself. Some curious episodes are fresh in my mind. For instance, at the request of Supreme Soviet staff we organized an exchange of vouchers for shares in the check fund right there in parliament. We even issued our shares to deputies. At the time, they clearly had no idea that privatization could be halted or reversed. The funds believed the government and the Supreme Soviet, and the population believed the funds. Now we've been hit below the belt. But not even in a children's game do the rules change in the course of the game itself.

[Kovalevskiy] Your league clearly has some figures on how many vouchers are currently held by funds...

[Volgin] We do. More than 25 million. Out of the 150 million vouchers issued. One-third of those 25 million vouchers have been used at auction and exchanged for shares in privatized enterprises. And that is the drama of the situation. Yes, complaints can be made about funds, and we can talk about improving their activity and making it more sophisticated. Incidentally, we had been expecting parliament to help us in precisely this area—by passing legislative documents to streamline taxation of the funds. After all, they are now virtually the equivalent of commercial enterprises and will be paying the same profits tax. Citizens will be subject to double and triple taxation, which does not exist in any other country. But parliament has taken another route. It has shown its lack of confidence in the president, the State Committee for the Management of State Property, and you and me.

According to expert estimates, each voucher is currently backed by property worth 300,000-400,000 rubles [R]. In new prices, of course. And what is the Supreme Soviet proposing? It is proposing that R10,000 be credited to each personal account and that annual interest then be paid on this amount. But even the highest rates of interest will not match inflation. And, second, it is proposing that property be sold not at the 1992 book value but at the new market value. As a result, each personal account will be backed by at least 30-40 times less property than is currently the case with checks. That is the camouflaged, secret aim of the Supreme Soviet decisions.

The parliamentarians claim that by introducing personal accounts they will be combating the dissipation of resources. But personal accounts are the last word in dissipation. Nor do I envy the savings banks, incidentally—they will suffocate as they are swamped by new accounts.

If we are talking about conclusions, the main conclusion is as follows. The administration of property is being removed from citizens and transferred to ministries and departments. They are back to square one. It is not hard to imagine how the ministries will behave. They will not relinquish their property for anything, at any price. Because giving it up would mean giving up their right to run it and be in charge of it.

But the market means, above all, having the right to make up your own mind. An attempt is now being made to bring everything into line. You will deliver your check to the savings bank, and we will make use of it. And the size of your deposit will be determined not by market conditions, not by your wisdom and thriftiness, but by the Supreme Soviet. It will decide and organize everything for you. We have all been through this already. We know the scope that command distribution provides for high-handedness and abuse.

I am authorized to state on our league's behalf that we are calling for a public discussion of all the questions raised by parliament with regard to changing the rules of privatization. For a discussion involving citizens, check fund leaders, and specialists. If deputies claim that they have the voters behind them, we have just as many arguments to show that there are millions of shareholders—or the same voters—behind the funds. And our responsibility to them is immeasurably higher than the deputies' responsibility. Because it is a financial responsibility that concerns the interests of every person and every family.

'Machiavellian Intrigues' Viewed

PM2207082193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Igor Karpenko report under the general heading "Parliament Tries to Remove People's Right to Own Their Own Property"]

[Text] Near the end of its 20 July evening session the Supreme Soviet ratified the decree asking the Constitutional Court to verify the constitutionality of the president's decree "On State Guarantees for Russian Citizens' Right To Participate in Privatization" and a decree on changes and additions to the Supreme Soviet decree "On the Demarcation of State Property"—the essence of which, as A. Chubays defined it, is to ensure that the powers of the State Committee for the Management of State Property are transferred to sector ministries, whose cool attitude toward privatization is quite well known. The gist of these documents has already been discussed in previous issues of IZVESTIYA.

Two hours before this event at a hastily convened press conference the chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property called this action "parliament's latest and particularly well-prepared attempt to strike a blow against privatization and the interests of the millions of people taking part in this process." The aim is "obvious—to stop Russian privatization."

It seems that the leaders of the State Committee for the Management of State Property have been most struck by the underground, almost detective-like way in which the documents were drawn up—neither the government nor the State Committee for the Management of State Property were informed about their elaboration and examination at the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and their opinion was not heeded. "The interests of tens of millions of people," A. Chubays stated, "are being secretly used as small change behind the back of the public and of those who are being defrauded and misled, for the sake of the political ends of the Supreme Soviet leadership and the unbridled hardline opposition behind it."

Even after feelings had been aroused by these documents in the mass media, the very fact of their existence was publicly denied by V. Mazayev, chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform; S. Polozkov, its deputy chairman; and R. Khasbulatov, the speaker of parliament, who incomprehensibly referred to the preparatory working nature of the drafts, and so forth.

Admittedly, the newspapers and television have been discussing just three documents, but journalists learned at the press conference of the existence of a fourth in the same package—a document suspending the 1992 state privatization program. Clearly there can now be no doubt that these two documents will also be submitted for ratification by parliament. If only because the state program contains a provision that runs counter to the latest decrees, and parliament must propose in its place some kind of version of the development of privatization—if only for show.

But why then all these "Machiavellian intrigues"? Simply, I think, in order to ensure that Russia's obvious reaction to these underground drafts, and the arguments of the State Committee for the Management of State Property and the government on the explosive social consequences of such a decision should not have a negative impact on the parliamentary voting machinery—deputies should not heed the "outside" opinions of voters and the government, they were to be caught unawares.

The consequences of the vote could be dramatic. Chubays is convinced that the "ludicrous, absurd arguments" used by parliament to verify the constitutionality of the president's edict will not persuade the Constitutional Court that the president's actions were illegal. But the aim has already been achieved, since the edict is automatically suspended.

The chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property gave journalists new information about the results of privatization in the first half year—57 percent of Russia's small enterprises have gone private; in the sphere of large-scale privatization more than 35 percent of the total number of people employed in industry today work at joint-stock enterprises; the number of privatization funds has reached 600, and some of them are paying out a check per quarter of up to 12,000 rubles in dividends, which is a substantial boost to people's budgets. The price of privatization checks has gone up, has reached their face value, and is continuing to rise.

In response to a question about the president's reaction to the unfolding events, the chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property announced that Boris Yeltsin is currently on vacation and it has been decided not to disturb him as yet. I think that the situation will have changed following the session. And his intervention in these events is now inevitable—the fate of reform and the interests of many millions of people are at stake in the political struggle.

Draft Decisions Viewed

PM2107154593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger report: "Was There an Attempt on the Voucher?"]

[Text] On 19 July, parliament's press service disseminated a statement by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov that "the Russian Supreme Soviet is not preparing and has no intention of adopting any documents or decrees for the purpose of canceling or prohibiting privatization."

The statement appeared in connection with the fact that, as the press service statement says, certain mass media have carried reports that a number of decrees canceling the system of privatization by voucher are supposedly being prepared in the Supreme Soviet.

The expression "certain mass media" employed in this instance is not entirely appropriate. At the end of last week, including the weekend, practically all the leading newspapers and television programs were discussing the draft documents prepared, to judge from the stamps and signatures, in the Supreme Soviet Commission for Economic Reform.

Let us recall briefly which documents we are speaking of. There are three. The first is the draft Supreme Soviet decree "On Verifying the Constitutionality of the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 640 of 8 May 1993 'On State Guarantees for the Right of Russian Citizens To Participate in Privatization.'" The second is the draft Supreme Soviet decree on making amendments and additions to the Supreme Soviet decree of 27 December 1991 "On the Demarcation of State Property..." The third document is the draft Supreme Soviet decree on introducing a system of privatization accounts.

Strictly speaking, there is not a single document among the aforesaid drafts which would "cancel or prohibit privatization," and the speaker was absolutely correct here. Moreover, only the first two drafts went through the Supreme Soviet Presidium and were adopted, while the third—on individual privatization accounts—which nonetheless speaks of vouchers, has not been examined in the Presidium.

The president's edict, which parliament proposes to rule unconstitutional, defines the minimum shares which all joint-stock companies are obliged to put up for a check auction (at least 29 percent). In the opinion of the Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property], this edict ensures the necessary minimum to turn vouchers into property and guarantees their owners that they can acquire a certain proportion of the property in check auctions. Otherwise joint-stock companies will not want to sell their shares, and the voucher will depreciate.

Vladimir Mazayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Economic Reform, where the sensational drafts were prepared, declared in conversation with IZVESTIYA that they were guided precisely by a desire to protect the rights of new owners, but they certainly are not enemies of privatization. In his opinion, even without this edict there are sufficient guarantees of obtaining property for vouchers. But an attempt has been made, so he believes, to replace the privatization program for this year by the edict. In particular, the edict makes it compulsory to privatize trade, everyday services, and truck transport enterprises before 1 August and virtually lays down the privatization methods (the minimum packet for sale in auctions).

Mazayev believes (and this opinion has been backed up by the Supreme Soviet Presidium decision) that the edict runs counter to a number of existing laws and thus creates a juridical basis for appealing against the results of privatization.

The Goskomimushchestvo views this position as an attempt by parliament to deprive citizens of those guarantees in the course of privatization which the president has granted them. Admittedly, the Supreme Soviet has not yet adopted this document. If it agrees to the Presidium decision, then, under the recently adopted amendments, the president's decree would be suspended as soon as the appeal to the Constitutional Court is lodged. Were this to happen, there would be a big question mark over the fate of check auctions.

The second document—with the neutral title "On the Demarcation of State Property"—in practice abolishes the Goskomimushchestvo. The fact is that in December 1991 parliament adopted a decree of that name which vested in the Goskomimushchestvo the exclusive right to administer and dispose of state property. The draft decree on changes to this decree proposes that these rights be transferred to the Council of Ministers, which could, if necessary, delegate them to central organs of state power.

Since central administrative organs means sector ministries, the Goskomimushchestvo would drop out of this setup—with all the ensuing consequences. That is, enterprise directors would be faced with sector ministries with their rights restored to them which would decide who and what could be privatized and how it would happen.

As for the draft decree on the introduction of individual privatization accounts, as Mazayev said, this is just one working option, which it is wrong [nepravomerno] to be discussing anyway, and it has been turned into an instrument of political speculation.

Mazayev explained the appearance of working options, including that already mentioned, by a concern for those who have not yet invested their vouchers—which expire 31 December this year.

There are grounds for concern here, but it will only take one or two such "working options" before vouchers will be worth no more than a streetcar ticket.

Hearings To Be Held on India Agreement

LD2107155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1431 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul—International treaties and agreements in the area of the regime of control over rocket technologies in which the Russian Federation participates are subject to ratification by parliament. Such a resolution was adopted today by the Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet of the Republic's Commission, the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, and the deputies group for controlling Russia's military-technical cooperation with foreign countries have been instructed to conduct parliamentary hearings on the conditions for the Russian Federation to join the regime of control over rocket technologies.

"This resolution", Deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov explained at a joint session of the chambers, "has arisen because of the circumstances in which we work, bearing in mind the Russian-New Delhi contract on cryogenic systems." He noted that "there are already several documents that come under the ratification process."

Dzasokhov reported that today's enlarged session of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations decided to conduct parliamentary hearings on the Moscow-New Delhi agreement on rocket engines in the next few days.

Parliament Approves Fundamentals of Law on Land

LD2107175593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—The Russian parliament today approved the fundamentals of legislation on land of the Russian Federation which established private, state and municipal land ownership. Foreign nationals and legal persons cannot own land in Russia but are entitled only to hold plots of land on lease or use them temporarily.

Land in Russia can be bought, sold or mortgaged in strict accordance with Russian legislation.

The fundamentals set general rules for the protection of land. The committee of the Russian Federation for land resources and land use will be the chief federal body in charge of state control over the use and protection of land.

The fundamentals provide for administrative and criminal liability for violating Russia's land legislation.

Khlystun Asks for Additional Harvest Work Funds

PM2107143993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 2

[Boris Soldatenko report under the "From Our Newsdesk" report: "Military Drivers Will Possibly Be Brought In To Gather Harvest-93"]

[Text] It is proposed to gather 106.8 million tonnes of grain in 1993. The vegetable and potato harvest will be slightly higher than last year's. Russian Federation Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun stated this in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Among priority measures the minister named the determination of purchase prices for agricultural products, and suggested that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet adopt a decision on allocating additional credit resources for procuring equipment and fuel worth 1.3 million rubles. Khlystun believes it advisable to adopt a decision on maintaining the average monthly wage of people being brought in for harvesting and to authorize the use of servicemen for these purposes. This applies only to drivers and 12,000 trucks.

Regional Affairs

Rutskoy Continues Visit to Far East

Warns of 'Civil Disobedience'

LD2107194793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Vice President Rutskoy has said in Khabarovsk that if events in Russia continue to develop in their current vein, a campaign of civil disobedience will begin in the country. Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party, also said that resistance to the presidential and government line is growing. But according to information from an opinion poll held by the Socio-Ekspress center at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, it turns out that the majority of the population of Russia support holding economic reforms, as before.

Visits Komsomolsk-on-Amur

LD2107144693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0655 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tsvetkov]

[Text] Komsomolsk-on-Amur, 21 Jul—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy arrived today in Komsomolsk-on-Amur. He began the tour of the town's defense complex with a visit to the aircraft production association, where the staff demonstrated the latest modifications of the SU-27 supersonic fighter. Their production could have started long time ago if not for cuts in military orders. At the same time, there is no license for selling the aircraft abroad. The Russian Government suspended credits to the enterprise early this year and its collective continues to live on the money obtained from the sales of combat equipment to China.

The vice president highly assessed the combat equipment noting that the enterprise, which has such outstanding technical and engineering potential and which produces such top-class fighters, should not cut down its production and has every right to count on government support.

The vice president later visited the Komsomolsk shipbuilding works, and this evening he is to speak on local television. On 22 July, he is expected to meet the town's leaders and the public.

Criticizes 'Irresponsible Leaders'

LD2207095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tsvetov]

[Text] Komsomolsk-on-Amur July 22 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy on a tour of the Russian Far Eastern region said the state must help the country's defence industry at this critical time.

Rutskoy was speaking at a press conference in Komsomolsk-on-Amur today before leaving for Vladivostok.

Rutskoy was sharply critical of "irresponsible leaders" who think that the country no longer needs its defence industrial potential it took decades to build.

Rutskoy said the output of weapons in the Far East must be continued for exports, because sales would bring in returns sufficient to ensure worthy living to work collectives and finance conversion.

To Meet Officials in Vladivostok

OW2207100393 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0210 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will hold a meeting with heads of Maritime Kray city and rayon administrations, chairmen of soviets, and deputies of all levels, at 1500 [0400 GMT] tomorrow, 23 July, in the House of the Soviets at 22 Svetlanskaya Street in Vladivostok. Meeting participants must carry identification.

Vice Premiers Hold Economic Conferences in Regions

MK2207094093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed RIA report: "Vice Premiers off on Trips]

[Text] Zonal economic conferences will be held between 22 and 26 July in line with the decision made by the Russian Federation Government and the Supreme Soviet on the holding of an All-Russia Economic Conference at the end of July. In this connection, Oleg Lobov is leaving for Petrozavodsk, Sergey Shakhray is to confer in Nizhniy Novgorod, and Vladimir Shumeyko will be in Rostov-na-Donu. First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is off to Chelyabinsk, Aleksandr Zaveryukha to Novosibirsk. Anatoliy Chubays is to hold a conference in Khabarovsk. The zonal conferences are to look into sending representatives of various industrial sectors and enterprises, banks, and entrepreneurial structures to the All-Russia Economic Conference in Moscow.

Far East To Get More Resources

PM2107115193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jul 93 p 1

[Andrey Gavrilenko report under the "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Economic Interests Can and Must Be Protected. If Only There Were Fuel"]

[Text] During his tour of the Far East, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray announced that the government would allocate additional resources to protect Russia's economic interests in this region.

Over 20 attempts by foreign vessels to fish illegally have been intercepted since the beginning of the year . Literally the other day two Korean trawlers were escorted outside the Russian economic zone's limits. A Pacific Border District border guard patrol ship commanded by Captain Third Rank V. Butorin detained the Japanese schooner Tikhati-Maru [name as transliterated]. The border guard seamen need additional resources to eliminate the fuel "famine" and to organize the feeding of crews according to the allowance norms stipulated for combat duties at sea.

Soskovets To Visit Perm for Talks With Leaders

LD2107131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Oleg Soskovets will fly to Perm, north east European Russia, to take part in a conference of the leaders of republics-members of the Russian Federation (Bashkortostan and Udmurtia), the Kurgan, Orenburg, Perm, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions, the Komi-Permyak autonomous area, as well as federal ministries and departments and major industrial enterprises of the region.

The vice-premier is expected to visit some industrial enterprises and meet work collectives to discuss the social and economic situation in Russia and measures to stabilize it at all levels.

Similar conferences will be held in other Russian regions to prepare for a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation scheduled for July 29.

Amur Soviet Declares Republic Status

LD2107212593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1955 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Amur Republic was proclaimed at a session of the Amur oblast soviet in Blagoveshchensk on 21 July. The local leadership intends to go the way of the Sakha Republic.

Urals Defense Enterprises Warn of Sector's Collapse

LD2107212893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1605 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul—The economic policy of the president and the government is leading to the complete collapse of the defense sector's scientific and technical potential, according to those attending a conference of trade union organizations in Urals region defense enterprises, which ended in Perm on 21 July. The conference was attended by representatives of major defense enterprises in Perm, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, Kurgan, Tyumen, and Yekaterinburg oblasts and in Bashkortostan.

The press center of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions stated here today that the Perm conference adopted a resolution stressing that non-implementation of the Russian Federation law "On Conversion" and of the general and sectoral tariff agreements jeopardizes the sector's very existence. There is no state military doctrine or armaments program, and this is an additional factor in the severing of intra-sectoral links. The closing of sectoral research institutes prevents peaceful technologies from being devised for enterprises undergoing conversion.

Workers Demand State Program

LD2207100093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the military-industrial complex remains just as complicated as the situation in agriculture. Those participating in a meeting of the workforces employed by the Urals area defense industry complex demanded that the federal authorities and the Supreme Soviet speeedily adopt a state military doctrine and an armaments program. They also demanded that the debts incurred as part of the system of state orders be settled and that the prerevolutionary status of Treasury-financed work reinstated.

A coordinating committee of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Urals defense enterprises has been formed. A warning stoppage on 29 July is planned as the first step in the union's campaign.

Further on Radiation Situation at Chelyabinsk-65

LD2207085993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0852 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk July 22 TASS—"A radiation discharge of alpha aerosols has been localised in the production premises of the radioisotope plant Mayak and there is no threat to the residents of the city of Chelyabinsk-65 and nearby territories, as well as to the plant personnel and the environment. No deactivation is needed outside the production premises," according to a joint commission which included representatives of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, the Russian Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry, the Ecological Committee, a regional branch of the Institute of Biophysics and several local organisations.

"The combined discharge of alpha active aerosols through a 120- meter ventilation conduit totalled 0.192 millicurie on July 17. The plant's total discharge of alpha active aerosols since the beginning of the year amounted to 0.22 per cent of the permitted annual level," the commission said.

The commission also checked the adjacent territory up to ten kilometers away from the premises and several districts in the Chelyabinsk region. "No deviations from the previously registered radiation level were detected."

Specialists believe it was a local accident confined to the plant boundaries. The damaged unit is a 1.5-meter high pipe with a diameter of 16 millimeters which is fully covered by a layer of concrete and stainless steel. The causes of the accident are being investigated.

'Mass Dismissals' Planned at Vorkuta Mines

PM2207094793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Leskov: "Mass Dismissals of Miners Have Begun at Vorkuta Mines"]

[Text] The layoff of 300 of the 1,500 miners at the "Yun-Yaga" mine has been announced in Vorkuta.

The first mass layoff of workers in the country is taking place through the closure of loss-making pits and the rationalization of production. This measure is connected with the fact that the state cannot continue to support unproductive mines out of the budget.

A general one-hour warning strike was scheduled in Vorkuta in connection with the forthcoming mass layoff. But work was stopped at only two mines of the Pechorskiy basin.

Yuriy Malyshev, president of the "Ugol Rossii" joint-stock company, said that the line toward the closure of unproductive pits will be maintained in the future too. In all about 50,000 people will be laid off in the sector, in which 800,000 miners are working. Experts believe that according to the laws of the market economy 15-30 percent of currently operating mines.

As for social upheavals, the consequences of the liberalization of prices for coal are far more dangerous to miners. In recent days prices for coal at the Pechorskiy basin have soared by a factor of 7-8. It is hard to imagine a purchaser who would agree to such expenditure. And on Wednesday in connection with the nonpayment of debts a decision was made in Vorkuta to stop the dispatch of coal to the metallurgical industry, which includes giants like the Cherepovets and Novyy Lipetsk plants and the Moscow coal-tar chemical industry.

International Affairs

Kravchuk To Meet Yeltsin on Sevastopol, Black Sea Fleet

LD2107181093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1627 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Report by UKRINFORM correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Oleg Snitovskiy - TASS]

[Text] Ternopol (western Ukraine), 21 Jul—"The Sevastopol question is a question of Russia's authority," Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk told journalists at Ternopol Airport. He arrived there today on a one-day visit.

"We discussed this problem very thoroughly in a telephone conversation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin yesterday," Kravchuk added. "We agreed on a meeting. We instructed the Governments of Russia and Ukraine to prepare proposals considering new peculiarities that recently appeared around Sevastopol to ensure that this meeting will take place. This meeting should take place by all means. We also want to discuss the problem of the Black Sea Fleet."

Yesterday the UN Security Council supported Ukraine, its territorial integrity, and the inviolability of its borders, the Ukrainian president said. "All this shows that Ukraine as a state is being held in respect and other countries support its fair policy. Everybody approves the thesis that we do not identify the Russian parliament with Russia and the democratic movement in Russia, and this is a real fact," the president said.

Paper Views Situation in Sevastopol

AU2107132893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Oleksandr Pilat, HOLOS UKRAYINY special correspondent: "Diarchy in Sevastopol?"]

[Text] As we have already reported, on 16 July, in the evening, the so-called people's viche [assembly] of the residents of Sevastopol and Black Sea Fleet sailors was held in the Nakhimov Square. The Sevastopol Committee of the "National Salvation Front" believes that the unification process leading to the revival of the USSR must start precisely in Sevastopol.

The whole event was inherently anti-Ukrainian in character. Aleksandr Kruglov, head of the Sevastopol Committee of the "National Salvation Front" and a people's deputy of the Crimean Republic and of the Sevastopol City Council called upon the Black Sea Fleet sailors to hoist, by 28 July, St. Andrew's flags on all ships of the Black Sea Fleet. He said that "armed squads ready to repulse Ukrainian National Separatists are being created" at all of the city's enterprises and organizations.

In accordance with the militia estimates, between 6,000 and 8,000 persons attended the viche.

The viche adopted an appeal to "our reestablished Russian Supreme Soviet, government, and president." It contains the following requests and demands: To urgently appoint a Procurator, chiefs of security and internal affairs services for the city of Sevastopol in order to ensure strict observation on its territory of the Constitution and Russian laws; to urgently recognize as illegal and suspend the activity of Ukraine's Supreme Council deputies from Sevastopol; to hold, in the near future, elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation from Sevastopol and from the Black Sea Fleet. It was also demanded that Ukrainian military subdivisions be withdrawn from Sevastopol and that Admiral Igor Kasatonov be reappointed as commander of the Black Sea Fleet.

The viche elected a Russian People's Council of the city of Sevastopol. It was headed by Kruglov. The council is composed of representatives of the "National Salvation Front," the Party of the Economic Revival of the Crimea, the Union of the Working People of Sevastopol, the "Unity" [Yedinstvo] Society, and other parties and movements of pro-Russian orientation.

Kruglov's statements in the evening program of Sevastopol Television on 16 July are alarming. He said that "Russia, which is 10 times as strong, will put all of its power into effect." In the same program, Vladimir Suprunenko, Kruglov's deputy in the "Front" and in the so-called "Russian Council," answering a correspondent's question as to whether he would not regret possible bloodshed and loss of human lives, answered: "No. People used to die for statehood. It is not sausage that is the main thing here, but the ideal and the statehood that we have lost."

So far, the situation in the city remains calm. The City Council and the state administration have it under their full control. The Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Naval Forces continue their service as planned. As I was informed at the Press Center of the Black Sea Fleet, the organizers of the viche turned to the command with a request to appoint one hundred sailors for maintaining order at the unsanctioned undertaking. Admiral Eduard Baltin refused to do so and stated that "the Black Sea Fleet does not get involved in political games," and that he as commander is only subordinated to the presidents of Russia and Ukraine. It was also said at the Press Center that the Black Sea Fleet sailors will not take part in the rally appointed for 24 July, although my information to the effect that 30 officers from the Black Sea Fleet Headquarters were present at the viche was confirmed; it was also stressed that it was their private business. Besides, many Black Sea Fleet reserve and retired officers were present there.

Last Saturday and Sunday [17 and 18 July], days on which Sevastopol servicemen get permission to spend time in town, soldiers and sailors of the Ukrainian Army and Fleet were approached, at the Ushakov Square, where the regular servicemen tend to gather, by middle-aged and elderly people who urged them to leave the

Ukrainian Armed Forces. Besides, all of them used the same phrases: "We warn you, boys, that it will not be a Dniester Region or a Karabakh here, but another Abkhazia." It is not difficult to guess whose orders these people fulfilled.

On 19 July, in the afternoon, Ukrainian presidential representative in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov held a news conference at which he declared the viche and the Russian People's Council created at it as illegal.

Sevastopol Communists Favor United Fleet

LD2207091693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 22 Jul 93

["Statement by the City Communist Party Committee"—UNIAR headline]

[Text] Sevastopol, 21 Jul—The Sevastopol City Committee of the Communist Party of the Crimea (Ukraine) has issued a statement, in which the Communists regard the escalation of political and military psychosis in Sevastopol as impermissible. "The people must demand that people's deputies revoke the anti-constitutional Belovezhskaya accords. The Black Sea Fleet is indivisible; the Sevastopol hero city must remain the main base of a single Black Sea Fleet. The City Council of People's Deputies, as a representative body of people's power, must be the only mouthpiece of the interests of Sevastopol residents, and a guarantor of peace and civilized problem-solving."

Deputy Prime Minister Criticizes Economic Union Treaty

WS2207090993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2351 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev, 21 July—Viktor Pynzenyk, deputy prime minister for economic reform issues, held a press conference at the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, which addressed a draft of the Economic Union Treaty proposed by the Cabinet of Ministers. In the opinion of Viktor Pynzenyk, this is a very contradictory document, and most of its provisions do not serve the interests of Ukraine. For example, a provision proposing the introduction of a free trade regime, insisted on by Russia, envisions administrative restrictions on exported goods—quotas and export duties. On the other hand, no limiting measures would be imposed on imports. It is not advantageous for Ukraine to run a negative payment surplus with Russia. Ukraine should export as many goods to Russia as possible, which will bring rubles to narrow the imbalance. At the same time, Ukraine is interested in curtailing imports to boost its production.

Ukraine and Russia, according to Mr. Pynzenyk, have diametrically opposed interests in foreign economic policy as well.

One alarming fact is that the treaty mentions some nonexisting "institutions and bodies of the economic union," procedures for the creation of which would be determined by a separate agreement.

Viktor Pynzenyk told the journalists that the draft treaty was meant for the ruble-zone countries; otherwise, it is hard to understand a provision on coordinating the policies on issuing currency. It just does not make any sense to "coordinate" the issuing of the karbovanets—something that determines the ruble-karbovanets exchange rate. Nor does it make sense to coordinate the budget, currency, and customs policies.

As for the "national legal acts regulating economic issues," the execution of this provision amounts to the restoration of the status quo from the Soviet Union times.

The treaty will not save Ukraine from permanently increasing prices for energy sources: under the Kuchma-Chernomyrdin agreement, the oil in Ukraine will cost $80 in the third and $90 in the forth quarter of this year, reaching a $100 level in the next year.

Nationalists Admit Sending Troops to Abkhazia, Dniester

AU2207085593 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Jul 93 p 1

[Anatoliy Martsynovskyy report: "Power to the Nationalist Assembly To Spite the Mafia in the Production Sphere!"]

[Text] Yet another rally organized by the Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly took place in the Independence Square. The goal of the undertaking was to help workers and other categories of citizens not burdened with power in their struggle against the "mafia in the production sphere": Directors of enterprises and associations and various chiefs "who quietly and unofficially 'misappropriate' national wealth and, for their own profit, sell it to foreign 'dollar sacks,' and so on." The rally was held under the motto "All Power to the Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly [UNA]."

"Women must bring empty pots, cans, and other utensils; men must bring their determination," recommended information leaflets that announced the action. Women with utensils could not be seen in the square, but there were a great many determined men, especially near the microphone.

"Join the Ukrainian People's Self-Defense [UNSO], those working in the production sphere. Fight for your rights and do everything to have your rights respected," called Serhiy Hrinchuk, commander of the Kiev Oblast UNSO group. "Remember that you can hardly achieve anything in a legal way: The mafia does not recognize any laws. The only thing that may help is to get together and give a good piece of your mind to that director and to that chief who, from his highly-placed chair, does not even consider you as human beings!"

"You do not even have to take a piece of steel reinforcement in order to beat up those scoundrels with your own hands," addressed the audience UNA deputy chief Dmytro Korchynskyy. "We have people for this purpose, and we only need powers from the people, your confidence, and your support."

Numerous orators pointed justly to generally known things, which are unpleasant for the government and called for decisive actions and for uniting around the UNA. At the end, it was promised to burn down the symbol of "a new idol that has replaced the old one"—the poster of the automobile firm Saab that stands in place of the Lenin monument.

"How reliable is the information to the effect that an UNSO unit went to Sukhumi [Abkhazia] to fight on the Georgian side?" your correspondent asked Serhiy Hrinchuk.

"That they went there is true, however, not to fight, but to help establish peace and accord. Also to give support to Abkhazia's Slavic population. A clergyman is there with the boys."

"Could you specify the numerical strength of the unit?"

"Numerical strength.... let me say like this: It is sufficient. If there is a need, it will increase."

"It was reported in the press that mothers of those boys who had left for Abkhazia arrive in Kiev with protests and demands that their sons be returned from the dangerous region...."

"We have information about two such women from Drohobych. They were talked into making this trip by Ukraine's Security Service officers who cannot confront us directly and, for that reason, they resort to 'roundabout' maneuvers."

Incidentally, several hours before the rally, a meeting of the UNA was held in the local Teachers House. Aleksandr Bolshakov, a delegate of the leadership of the Moldovan Dniester Republic, presented medals "For the Defense of the Dniester Region" to those UNSO militants who took part in the conflict between Moldova and the Dniester Region.

Peacekeeping Contingent Arrives in Sarajevo

LD2107211893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Another Ukrainian blue helmet unit has arrived in Sarajevo. It comprises servicemen selected by a special commission of the Odessa Military District.

The fresh reinforcement is composed not only of fixed-term servicemen but also of regular officers and those serving on a contractual basis. In future, the main body of the Ukrainian peacekeeping contingent will be formed on the basis of contracts.

Delegation Begins Trade Negotiations in Mongolia

LD2107173693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1415 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 21 Jul—Negotiations have started between a Ukrainian government delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Vasyl Yevtukhov and a Mongolian government delegation. The discussion focused on mutual product supplies, payments for goods and services, the development of cooperation in various sectors of the national economy, particularly in the mining and metal industry and power engineering, the introduction of modern production processes, and investments.

Vasyl Yevtukhov met President Ochirbat of Mongolia. Mr. Yevtukhov handed him a personal message from the president of Ukraine. In the course of their conversation, the Ukrainian deputy prime minister said that the delegation has arrived to implement the agreements reached during the Ukrainian president's visit to Mongolia last year. Mr. Ochirbat expressed hope that the agreements reached by the presidents and the treaty on friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and Mongolia signed by them provide a good basis for mutually beneficial contacts. "We see Ukraine as a great and powerful state which would be Mongolia's window to Europe," Ochirbat said.

The Ukrainian government delegation met Prime Minister Jasray on the same day. The sides informed each other of the political and economic transformations taking place in Ukraine and Mongolia, and discussed the strategy for promoting cooperation.

Experts To Investigate Military Shipments to UNITA

WS2207091193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2115 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] According to sources close to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, the ministry has learned that Zimbabwean Foreign Minister N. Shamuyarira, while holding talks with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister B. Kolokolov, expressed his concern over the activity of military crews of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. These crews fly the Il-76 cargo planes based in Johannesburg and leased on the basis of private contracts by the Ukrainian Astronavigation Transport Agency. In the opinion of the Zimbabwean Foreign Ministry, using humanitarian aid as a cover, the planes carry out military shipments from the South African Republic to the regions of Angola controlled by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] military formations. On 24 June, Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Mykola Makarevych turned to Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov with an inquiry on this issue. On 25 June, Kostyantyn Morozov charged a group of

Staff experts led by Colonel-General A. Lopata to investigate the affair and report on the results to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

Demjanjuk Trial Raises Concerns Over Israeli Ties

LD2107181493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chairman of the Association for Interethnic Peace and Accord in Ukraine, Yuriy Hulchanskyy, has made a statement in which he expresses anxiety in connection with the case of Ivan Demjanjuk, which rightly caused public concern.

In the words of Hulchanskyy, new material that proves the innocence of that person compel one to return to this case over and over again. In the opinion of Yuriy Hulchanskyy, the lack of certainty about the fate of the 72-year-old prisoner, who for years has been imprisoned in Israel, has a negative effect on Ukrainian-Israeli relations. Opponents of interethnic peace—both in Ukraine and in Israel—are trying to capitalize on this.

The Israeli mass media reported that the Israeli Supreme Court was to announce its final decision on the case of Ivan Demjanjuk on 29 July. Accused of the mass murder of Jews at the Treblinka concentration camp, Ivan Demjanjuk, an American of Ukrainian descent, was sentenced to the gallows. He has been imprisoned in Israel for the past seven years. He has sought that his case be reconsidered and has pleaded not guilty.

Foreign Firms Assist Creation of Telephone Exchange

LD2207100193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2100 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] On 21 July, Chernivtsy's inter-urban telephone exchange was officially inaugurated, providing the citizens with telephone links to the states of the near-abroad [term denoting the former USSR] and 49 far-abroad foreign countries. The brainchild of the Chernivtsy Communication Association and several U.S. and Dutch firms is equipped with most up to date, sophisticated telecommunication devices. Presidential regional emissary Ivan Hnatyshyn was among the very first clients to use its services when he put a call through to Canada and had a talk with magistrates' offices in Saskatoon, Chernivtsy's twin city.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Meets Ternopol Oblast Agricultural Workers

LD2107184193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1529 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Viktor Demydenko and Oleh Snitovskyy]

[Excerpts] Ternopol, 21 Jul— Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, paid a working visit to Ternopol oblast today.

He started with a visit to the "Ternopilskyy Kombaynovyy Zavod" [The Ternopol Combine Plant] production association. [passage omitted]

The president of Ukraine acquainted himself with samples of agricultural machines, domestic technology, and consumer goods. He conversed with workers, specialists, and the leadership of the association. In particular the talk was about searching for new possibilities and reserves for increasing the production of industrial products.

On the same day Leonid Kravchuk met members of the Council of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, heads of banks, and representatives of the League of Entrepreneurs of the Non-State Sector.

In the afternoon the president of Ukraine visited the agricultural firm "Podillya" of Ternopolskiy rayon. He conversed with agricultural workers and heads of farms, and met representatives from the Council of Agro-Industrial Formations and representatives of the president of Ukraine in rayons of this oblast.

Safety of Nuclear Weapons Detailed

LD2107121493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 18 July carries a five-minute video report by correspondent Aleksandr Gerasimov from the "Itogi" program. Gerasimov reports on nuclear safety at a division of the Russian strategic rocket forces situated "several dozen kilometers from the town of Ivanovo", where mobile SS-25 missile systems are located.

The Gerasimov video report is introduced by "Itogi" announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev, who says:

"Incidentally, the events surrounding Sevastopol are facts for those puzzled as to why Ukraine is in no rush to part with nuclear warheads to consider. This week, strategic missiles began to leave Ukraine, and the removal from active alert of the first 10 RS-18 [SS-19] missiles began on 15 July in accordance with an understanding reached earlier between Moscow and Kiev. However, their warheads will remain in Ukraine for the time being, until the fate of Ukrainian nuclear weapons is finally decided. An additional 166 missiles remain, as before, on active alert."

The Gerasimov report begins with video showing destroyed silos rockets being transported. He says: "Today, in place of the 80 silos that were blown up under the SALT I agreement, mobile launch systems are in place, to which no one in the world has anything similar."

Following a video segment showing rockets being taken out of hangars and troops on parade, Gerasimov asks Aleksandr Zaytsev, commander of a rocket regiment, whether the troops themselves could make unauthorized use of the rockets. Zaytsev replies: "The existing system in the rocket forces—the system of organizational and technical measures—in practice rules out the possibility of my independently taking any unauthorized actions with the rockets."

In response to a question regarding the possibility of a conspiracy with other officers, Zaytsev says: "That is also ruled out, because the existing system of centralized combat management does not allow us to make any decisions on nuclear rocket arms independently."

Over video showing more rockets and transporters, Gerasimov lists several of the servicemen's grievances, which include inadequate staffing, lack of housing, and delays in salary payments. He says that these circumstances, however, have had no effect on the level of the rocket troops' combat capability.

The video then shows the security devices protecting the base. Gerasimov notes that even the most skillful terrorist could not get through this security, and even a direct hit on the rockets could not result in a nuclear explosion.

After further video of technical repair operations, Gerasimov points out that the collapse of economic ties between the former Soviet republics has led to a chronic shortage of spare parts and components. He concludes his report by saying: "The service organization and strict military interrelations that we saw in the units create an impression of stability in the Russian strategic nuclear forces. The command of the rocket forces have succeeded in convincing us that, from the point of nuclear safety, everything here is in order."

Military Exercises Scheduled 3-7 Aug

LD2107145993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1230 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—Operational-strategic training of the Armed Forces of Ukraine will take place under the leadership of the Ukrainian defense minister at the base of the Odessa Military District on 3-7 August. Units and formations of three army corps, of one air army, and of the southeastern sector of the Air Defense will participate in the training. The main practical actions of the troops will begin near Nikolayev on the Shirokolanovka range. Assault landings by the airborne brigade of the Odessa Military District and field firing by the tank regiment are on the training schedule.

In the opinion of observers, the training is being carried out in reply to criticism of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine on the part of parliament. It has not carried out any training on this scale in the two years of building a Ukrainian Army. Some people are inclined to connect the maneuvers with the latest events in Sevastopol. The training is not going beyond the bounds envisaged by the treaty on limiting armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Violations of Military Service Law Viewed

AU2107140693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Jul 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Three Conscripts—to the Barracks and Seven Remain by Their Mothers' Apron Strings"]

[Text] As reported by the press group of Ukraine's Procurator General's Office, this department has generalized the results of checking the fulfillment of Ukraine's law "On Universal Military Duty and Military Service." It was found that rayon and town military registration and enlistment offices commit serious violations in the organization of the registration and procedure of the conscription of young people. Quite a number of citizens have been exempted from military service or granted postponement from the call-up without any justification. Conversely, young people who are ill, drug addicts, or not medically fit for military service have been called up. In some places, the situation has deteriorated to the extent that the registration of conscripts is not carried out at all.

Such an irresponsible attitude toward the requirements of the law and also the shortcomings in the current legislation have resulted in a situation in which the universal military duty has become "universal" only for one-third of the total of young people of call-up age.

Tatars Picket Crimean Council of Ministers

LD2107150393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1230 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Simferopol—The Crimean Tatars began picketing near the Council of Ministers of the Crimea on Lenin Square on 21 July without an official advance warning. They are demanding the return to their owners of mosques and other religious buildings, together with the Crimean Tatars' buildings confiscated in the deportation. So far, the picket is not large, but envoys from other towns and rayons of the Crimea should be joining it in the near future. The picket is indefinite and will last until the authorities adopt a decision that will satisfy the Crimean Tatars.

Crimean Shadow Cabinet Adopts Nationality Resolution

LD2107124393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] First resolutions of the recently established Crimean shadow cabinet of ministers were issued for the first time for mass circulation. The cabinet is chaired by Crimean Supreme Council Deputy Serhiy Shuvalnykov. The first resolution, on citizenship in the Republic of Crimea, establishes a single nationality in the republic and suspends all legislative acts of Ukraine and the Crimea on this issue. The shadow cabinet demands that law enforcement bodies prepare a passport sample and begin putting stamps with the Republic of Crimea state emblem and a "Citizen of the (?Republic of Crimea)" entry in the current valid passports [passage indistinct].

Cabinet of Ministers Lists New Appointments, Dismissals

AU2207090693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 20 Jul 93 p 2

["Appointments" by Cabinet of Ministers in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has appointed Lieutenant General HRECHANINOV, Viktor Fedorovych as chief of Ukraine's Civil Defense Headquarters;

Major General PERVOMAYSKYY, Oleh Hryhorovych—as deputy chairman of the State Committee for Questions of Defense of Ukraine's State Border, commander of border troops;

HLADUSH Viktor Dmytrovych—as first deputy minister of external economic ties;

PETROV, Oleksandr Lazorovych—as general director of the National Exhibition Center subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers;

* * *

HVIZD, Oleksiy Opanasovych has been dismissed from his duties as president of the Ukrainian State Corporation for Transport Construction;

SEMENETS, Oleh Yevhenovych has been relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the National Center for Implementing International Technological Assistance to Ukraine.

Creates Commission on Economic Zones

AU2207090593 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 20 Jul 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "For the Creation of Free Economic Zones"]

[Text] On 14 July, Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers issued Decree No. 533 "On the Creation of an Interdepartmental Commission for the Consideration and Preparation of Documents on the Creation of Special (Free) Economic Zones." The objective of this governmental decision is to introduce an efficient system for considering proposals on the creation of such zones. The commission is headed by First Deputy Minister of the Economy Roman Shpek, and its activity will be coordinated by Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk.

Belarus

Delegation Visits U.S.; Kravchanka Stays in Minsk

WS2107124993 Minsk RID in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Unattributed RID report: "Shushkevich Headed the Delegation to the United States. Kravchanka Left at Home"]

[Text] A governmental Belarusian delegation headed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich is arriving in Washington today on an official visit, which will last until 23 July.

The program of the visit includes talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and other officials of the U.S. Administration. RID correspondent has learned at the Belarusian Foreign Ministry that the Belarusian delegation includes First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich, Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy, State Security Chairman Eduard Shirkovskiy, representatives of the legislative commissions, and other officials.

We would like to note that the Belarusian Foreign Ministry will be represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Petr Belyaev, while Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka stayed in Minsk.

Working Group Named for Implementing Economic Union

WS2107132293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has issued a directive authorizing the creation of a working group, which will be engaged in the development of a draft agreement and other documents implementing the joint declaration of the heads of the governments of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine on the urgent measures for deepening the economic integration. Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Zalamay was appointed the head of this group. The deputy heads of the group are Valentin Zayats and Nikolay Lisay. The group is composed of experts from the Financial Ministry, banks, and a number of state departments.

Defense Minister Favors Military Union With Russia

WS2107135693 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by Sergey Krapivin: "Planes are Flying, Tanks Are Running, Cannons Are Firing..."]

[Text] Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy, having habitually named the country, in which he heads the Ministry of Defense,—"Belorussia",—opened his meeting with journalists with the argument that the Republic should join the CIS Collective Security Treaty.

Strategically, we stand for a neutral and nuclear-free state; but tactically it is easier and cheaper to build National Armed Forces in military union with Russia, the minister said.

Following are the main points of Pavel Kozlovskiy's speech and his answers to questions.

Since the beginning of the year, 12 officers have been recalled from duty for misdemeanors, about 100 criminal charges have been pressed. It is not much out of a total number of 26 million officers.

Certain officials from the Republic's Chamber of Control are biased against the Defense Ministry. They are searching for smear materials.

The presence of commercial structures in the Ministry is necessary, because the ministry's budget amounts to only 50 percent of that requested.

The First Congress of the Belarusians of the World's resolution on the Republic's military issues offends and humiliates the Army.

The creation of the Voluntary Public Squads by the Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BAS] produces a threat to society. The BAS is lead by alcoholics, who were expelled from the Armed Forces.

Belarusian volunteers will not join UN peacekeeping forces because we do not need "the zinc graves syndrome".

Belarus will export neither weapons nor military technology because it does not have enterprises releasing final products.

Units are staffed at 75-80 percent.

The change in uniforms will start at the beginning of the next year. The guard of honor unit will have new uniforms at the end of this year.

The summer stage of combat training began 1 July. All is going correctly; planes and helicopters are flying, tanks are running, cannons are firing. The Army is battle ready.

Having related the pronouncement of Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy, we will refrain from comments. Let every reader draw conclusions for himself. We believe, time is drawing its conclusions too.

Servicemen Abroad Seek To Return Home

WS2207105393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] The state return program is being developed in the Republic. It will allow the thousands of Belarusian servicemen performing their military service in the hot spots outside of Belarus to come back to their Motherland. A RID correspondent has learned at the Defense Ministry Department for Staff that 3,196 Belarusian servicemen have asked to be withdrawn from Central Asia, the Caucases, and the Baltic states. Of these, 1,835 servicemen have already been returned and have been given new positions in Belarus. The remaining servicemen are waiting to return to Belarus.

Lida Servicemen Seize Apartments, Break Housing Agreement

WS2107114093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Despite the agreement that was reached by the Belarusian and Russian Defense Ministries on the issue of providing housing for Lida servicemen, a group of Lida garrison servicemen has illegally seized part of an apartment house. This action prevents the builders from completing construction of this apartment house and shows that some of our countrymen cannot resolve their disputes in a civilized way. In addition, the servicemen have chosen an illegal means of settling their private issues.

Democratic Deputies Favor Early Elections

WS2107121493 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 3

[Text of declaration by the Popular Front (BNF) and the Democratic Club opposition factions; place and date not given]

[Text] The nomentklatura and communist majority of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet proposed on 1 July to conduct a vote of confidence in Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. With numerous violations of the legislative procedures and the lack of the quorum, this issue was put to a secret ballot, which was also conducted with glaring procedural violations. In fact, it was nothing other than a communist coup attempt on the part of the most reactionary forces.

Democratic deputies have a lot of objections toward S. Shushkevich and his performance in the high-ranking state post. The BNF and other Democratic Club deputies do not support his unprincipled appeasing of the communist majority, which paid him back by proposing the no-confidence vote. However, in the current situation, deposing S. Shushkevich would mean unlimited concentration of power and all power-controlling bodies—including the KGB—in the hands of the Council of Ministers, whose incompetent and short-sighted policies are not directed at Belarusian independence and the long-term interests of the Belarusian people.

Under the circumstances, the democratic minority of Belarusian legislative deputies refused to participate in the political farce of the no-confidence vote. All the more so that the vote's results could have no legal force. The deputies from the communist majority will probably make new attempts to evade the control of their activities and those of the government and unseat the present Supreme Soviet chairman from his position, replacing him with a more reliable person.

In this situation, we believe that the only solution that could stop the political crisis and oppose the offensive action of anti-Belarusian orthodox forces would be an initiative, announced by the Supreme Soviet chairman, to determine questions for the referendum on early elections and the dissolution of the legislature, illegally canceled by the Supreme Soviet on 29 October, 1992, in a nationwide vote. More than 442,000 citizens have signed in favor of the referendum.

In addition, the issues of neutrality and entry (or non-entry) into the collective security system and the election of leaders of the self-government bodies should be put to a referendum.

Any other activities will inevitably lead to the liquidation of our independence and the embezzlement of the Belarusian national property.

In the event of further need for assisting the policies of the Supreme Soviet chairman and his indecisiveness, the BNF opposition and other democratic-oriented deputies will not support him and will effectively prevent abrupt changes in the Supreme Soviet management.

[Signed] People's Deputies: Z. Poznyak, U. Zablotski, I. Pyrkh, L. Zdanevich, V. Malyshka, Ya. Novikaw, S. Antonchyk, P. Kholad, A. Shut, V. Golubev, B. Gyuntar, L. Tarasenka, V. Shachak, U. Novik, Ya. Tsumaraw, V. Alampiew, S. Babachonak, M. Slyamnew, G. Maiseyew, E. Bagawtsow, A. Barysenka, Ul. Khvoshch, M. Kryzhanowski, A. Vyartsinski, I. Palagecha, M. Aksamit, A. Kuzma, A. Parul, I. Syamashka, E. Spiglazaw, V. Dalgalew, M. Kalbaska, Ya. Glushkevich, P. Dragan, V. Kakowka, S. Byardawtsaw, A. Shypko, A. Letka, A. Dawlyud, G. Syamdzyanava, G. Nikitsin, Yu. Belenski, O. Trusov, G. Grushavy, L. Barshchewski, A. Lyabedzka, L. Dzeyka, R. Vyacherski.

Joint Declaration of Democratic, Peasant Parties

WS2107132493 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jul 93 p 2

[Joint declaration of the United Democratic Party of Belarus and the Belarusian Peasant Party: "Why They Want To Unseat Shushkevich"]

[Text] The latest events in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet reflect the aggravation of the economic and social crisis. Its main cause is the intention of the ruling circles to preserve the present system and their reluctance to carry out market and democratic reforms. The unreasoned policies of the government set many enterprises operating on the verge of bankruptcy, prices skyrocketing, and people's living standards nose-diving, while practically nothing has been done to overcome the crisis.

It has become increasingly clear that the ruling regime is bankrupt and incapable of finding any solution. In these conditions, the nomenklatura is convulsively clutching at power, explaining its failure through everything but its inactivity. This results in unconsidered, hasty, and often irrational actions—like the demands to join an unexisting collective security system.

This also explains their attempts to depose Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Shushkevich, who opposes Belarus' participation in military blocs and stands for a large-scale and just privatization. Protracted and meaningless debates on the unessential issues at a time of economic and social problems that came to a head testify to the crisis of power and the complete insolvency of the ruling regime. The desire to unseat Shushkevich speaks about the intention of the pro-communist nomenklatura to reverse the Belarusian political course in the direction opposite to the one followed by the rest of the world, and establish authoritarian rule.

It is natural that the legislative speaker became an obstacle on their way. The recent events showed that the Supreme Soviet has completely exhausted its potential, and represents an epoch that is long gone. The notorious and unpredictable legislature became a threat to the entire society, destabilizing the situation in the Republic. Nothing else is left but to press for early elections.

The United Democratic Party of Belarus and the Belarusian Peasant Party appeal to all the Belarusian citizens, parties, movements, and public organizations to create a broad democratic movement that would provide support for S. Shushkevich and be based on the following goals:

1. Early free elections for the legislature and local governments;

2. Sweeping privatization carried out in the interests of the people, and not the nomenklatura;

3. Respect for dignity and rights and freedoms of the people;

4. Belarus' non-participation in military blocs.

In the framework of this movement, we propose to establish citizens' committees in favor of early elections, which would let the citizens realize their fight to elect trustworthy state bodies.

Call us in Minsk: (0172) 29 08 34, 27 29 12.

[Signed] A. Dobrovolskiy, chairman of the United Democratic Party of Belarus; E. Lugin, chairman of the Belarusian Peasant Party.

Social Democrats Denounce Communists

WS2107135493 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jul 93 p 2

[Declaration of the Executive Committee of the Belarusian Social-Democratic Party: "The Communist Party Has Returned to Power, But Life Has Become Worse"]

[Text] It has been more than three months since the communist and pro-imperial forces in Belarus openly declared that they still rule the state. This happened when the pro-government legislative faction "Belarus" joined the so called "Belarusian Popular Movement," which included the Party of Belarusian Communists, the Belarusian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet faction "Union," the Slavic Assembly, the Union of Officers, and other organizations. Thus, the "Belarusian Popular Movement" received control over the government and the Supreme Soviet majority and became the leading power in Belarus.

What was the result of regaining power by Communists in the form of the communist pro-imperial bloc? Sausage and sugar appeared back on the store shelves? No. However, in the past three months, we joined the dangerous military union with the belligerent Central Asian and Transcauscasian countries. The process of destroying the first sprouts of democracy and state patriotism has gotten under way in the military. And finally, we found ourselves faced with skyrocketing prices with empty store shelves and a real energy crisis.

Instead of pushing the reforms, the Supreme Soviet majority and the government hopefully waited for the Russian Red and Brown extremists to oust President Yeltsin—then everything could be left as before. But they ended up with an economic fiasco and have no idea what to do. It is no longer possible to rule by old methods, but they do not know how to rule by the new ones, and most important, the ruling nomenklatura no longer needs socialism and—for the time being—the civilized market economy. They are perfectly comfortable with the present chaos, when one can catch "fat fish" in the muddy waters, building chic cottages and buying Mercedes cars. Price tags in the stores show the consequences of this fishing.

The Executive Committee of the Belarusian Social-Democratic Party believes that the pro-communist government has exhibited its lack of ability to govern the state under the present conditions, and should resign until the nomenklature completely destroys our economy and finishes the "privatization" of the state property. The reigns of state rule should be transferred to a coalition government of people's trust. The Belarusian Social-Democratic Party demands the immediate announcement of a referendum on confidence in the Supreme Soviet followed by early elections. The party calls upon all the sane forces of society to coordinate efforts to remove from the political scene all those who, clutching at power, drag us into the abyss of economic catastrophe and anarchy.

'Belarus' Legislative Faction To Discuss Electoral Campaign

WS2107113893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] On 25-26 July, in Minsk, a congress of the confederation of the [legislative] faction Belarus will take place. The congress participants will define their attitude toward the political parties and movements of Belarus with the purpose of establishing contacts with them during the period of the electoral campaign. They will also discuss the entrance of the Communist Party of Belarus to the Congress of the Democratic Trade Unions of Belarus.

National Bank Chair Interviewed on Currency, Ruble Zone

WS2207103093 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 30 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Stanislav Antonovich Bagdankevich, chairman of the National Bank, by newspaper correspondent Vladimir Deshkovets under the "Economy and Independence" rubric: "What Will Happen After 1 July?"; place and date not given]

[Text] Belarusian National Bank Chairman Stanislav Bagdankevich's interview is prompted by the recent telegram from Moscow.

The complete text of the telegram was published, therefore we will publish only its introduction.

Moscow. 73/23041 205 11/08 1608. Governmental.

Minsk. Belarusian National Bank.

"This is to acknowledge that the Russian Federation Government Commission on Credits has deemed it necessary to continue after July 1, 1993 to send rubles to the central (national) banks of the states, which use the ruble as the sole legal tender, on condition that special agreements are signed guaranteeing a single money, credit, and fiscal policy with Russia.

In the event that these agreements are not signed...."

[Deshkovets] Stanislav Antonovich, what can you tell us about these special agreements?

[Bagdankevich] They foresee the necessity of adopting new Belarusian legislation that recognizes the ruble as the sole legal tender on the territory of the Republic. Naturally, we should coordinate all our money and credit and financial legal acts in correspondence with the Russian ones.

[Deshkovets] This condition has the nature of an ultimatum. What was your impression of the telegram?

[Bagdankevich] We expected it. Can any country, which is orienting its economy toward the world market, allow the uncontrolled circulation of its currency in other countries and send them cash? It is unthinkable in world practice. Therefore, we have no reason to criticize Russia for their telegram.

[Deshkovets] Nevertheless, heated discussions were blazing in the press and legislature. People's Deputy Vladimir Novik demanded that the government and the National Bank promptly present the program of the introduction of the Belarusian national currency at the session. Was it a kind of an ultimatum?

[Bagdankevich] I would have answered "yes" if you were esteemed Deputy Novik. In fact, since 1 January, we have been out of the ruble zone. Our enterprises have experienced it. Anyway, we have introduced our national noncash currency. At the same time, we are keeping ruble accounts with Russia (we are experiencing a lack of rubles!) In the domestic market, we are using the national currency called "rabbits."

[Deshkovets] On the other hand, "rabbits" are not our sole tender.

[Bagdankevich] The proportion is 80 to 20 percent (80 percent Belarusian "rabbits" and 20 percent Russian rubles). In fact, Belarus has its own national currency. We were forced to introduce our national currency. The circumstances made us do it. Primarily, Russia has introduced bilateral clearing in our trade and economic relations. You know the essence of these clearing operations: This is a system of non cash trade arising out of bilateral trade operations.

[Deshkovets] The other way out is a credit....

[Bagdankevich] Lately, Russia has become not so disposed to allotting credits. It would be more correct to say that Russia has stopped granting credits. This issue can only be resolved at the intergovernmental level. Russian and Belarusian experts have discussed an agreement on allotting 300 billion rubles [R] to Belarus. We could get this loan if we guarantee the cancellation of the credits—R177—which we had been given earlier.

[Deshkovets] Coming back to the telegram, what is the National Bank's position on this issue?

[Bagdankevich] We have formulated a number of counter proposals.

1. Russia should reject the system of bilateral clearing operations. That is: In the event that an enterprise has ruble cash, it can spend this money on the CIS territory.

2. All kinds of limitations and benefits for Russian enterprises should be lifted. I mean tariffs, export and import duties, and taxes, especially on energy resources and raw materials.

[Deshkovets] What about the issuing of credit and currency?

[Bagdankevich] We continue to recommend that these functions be delegated to the Russian Central Bank. We could admit this proposal but only for a certain period of time (until the CIS bank is opened). This CIS bank should take on the duty of coordinating the issuing of money and credit and work out a single banking policy.

This is our position on the issue. These are our conditions for the creation of a single currency and economic union and finally for a single currency. Anyway, this issue must be much discussed and finally resolved.

[Deshkovets] How do you view this union?

[Bagdankevich] It should not necessarily be based on the Russian ruble. There could be an alternative to it. By the way, in January 1993, at the meeting of the CIS heads of the states, when we proposed to create an interstate bank for accounts in Minsk, we proceeded from the possibility of the existence of national currencies.

[Deshkovets] Well, Stanislav Antonovich, let us suppose that your package of proposals is rejected by Russia. What will happen then?

[Bagdankevich] I would not like to go to extreme measures—it can lead to unforeseen consequences in the economy—however, we cannot ignore the political interests. The sovereignty and the independence of the Republic of Belarus are at stake. There is no other option. This is the position of the Belarusian National Bank and the chairman of its board.

What are we going to do if we do not find a compromise with Russia? We will submit a proposal to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers on the nonexpediency of signing the Belarusian-Russian agreement on the introduction of the single money, credit, and financial policy and will insistently recommend that the national Belarusian currency be officially introduced. It is natural, this will demand that some new legislative acts be adopted including the law on prohibition of the circulation of the Russian national currency.

[Deshkovets] How, then, will the events develop? Can you predict the situation?

[Bagdankevich] We will take into consideration the results of the fourth round of the Moscow talks. Anyway, we hope that by staying formally in the ruble zone, we will be able to coordinate the amount of the credit and money issued for the third and forth quarters of 1993. At the same time, we will retain our sovereign rights in the field of money, credit, and financial policy. This would be a natural and sharp decision of the two neighboring countries in the event that they wish to maintain civilized relations.

If Russia refuses to grant us its currency, our "rabbits" will automatically become the sole legal currency on the Belarusian territory. In addition to the legislative acts, which we are going to adopt, the rate of Belarusian ruble must be established too.

[Deshkovets] Will it be popular with the population?

[Bagdankevich] Of course, we require a gold or a hard currency reserve. We have neither the first nor the second. In fact, about 40 out of 170 countries have this reserve. Nevertheless, all countries have their own currency. The main thing is to make this currency stable. We should not print excess money. We should maneuver between the rise and fall of production, the level of wages, prices, etc. The artificial issuing of money leads to an excess of money on the market and to inflation.

I have read that currently Belarus is in a triple spiral of inflation. First, we depend on the Russian prices on energy resources and raw materials. Up to 70 percent of our inflation is due to this dependence. When the Arab countries raised their oil prices, all of Europe was gripped by the inflation.

[Deshkovets] What about the remaining 30 percent of inflation? Who is responsible for it?

[Bagdankevich] The Supreme Soviet and the National Bank of Belarus.

Currently, we have introduced into circulation 89 billion rubles. This money is not supported by the output. Under circumstances in which the government controls the prices, this sum of money is in the bank accounts of the population and the enterprises. Under conditions of free market prices, the prices will rise and swallow this amount of money. All the credits, which are not connected with the rise in production, trigger inflation processes.

[Deshkovets] In some time, we will not be able to provide the required amount of money. What will happen then? Will you carry out a monetary reform?

[Bagdankevich] Perhaps. This reform could be profitable for Belarus if there are some prerequisites. We require a strong power, which has support among the population. We require political stability excluding all kinds of rallies and strikes. We need professionals. We have heard a lot of times at the Supreme Soviet session: Why did the National Bank of Belarus introduce an unprofitable ruble rate for Belarus? This is not our domain. The National Bank can only register the current ruble rate. It is up to the market to establish it.

In the event that we could influence the situation and establish currency reserves, we could sell it on the market and balance the national currency. However, we have no currency reserves, the economy is deteriorating, and the production is not competitive. We have not learned to trade and to look for the markets! Is it not absurd when the enterprises are producing the goods for the warehouses but not for our consumers?

[Deshkovets] Let us return to the telegram. Will you send an answer to Moscow? If yes, what will you write?

[Bagdankevich] Moscow. Central Bank of Russia.

We understand your anxiety with the inflation situation. We are also worried about it. We are ready to start new talks which will not impinge on the rights of the sovereign states.

Shushkevich Meets Slovene Foreign Minister

WS2107114393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] A two-day official visit of Lojze Peterle, deputy chairman of the legislature and foreign minister of the Republic of Slovenia, has ended with a visit to several Minsk enterprises. However, not only is Slovenia interested in the Belarusian market; Belarus is also eager to conduct a fruitful and close cooperation with the young independent state. At the talks with Mr. Peterle, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich said: We are envious of Slovenian successes in many fields. In Shushkevich's opinion, the processes of privatization and investments in Slovenia are proceeding with much success. We should learn a lot from you, he added. The process of the introduction of a national currency in Slovenia is very instructive for Belarusians. The preparation and signing of a bilateral political agreement, which was the subject of the bilateral talks, will guarantee long term and stable relations between the states in the economic, political, and cultural spheres.

Moldova

Extraordinary Parliament Session To Discuss Economy

LD2207060293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0555 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau July 22 TASS—The presidium of the Moldovan parliament has decided to call an extraordinary session of the republic's supreme legislature on August 3 to discuss the critical state of the Moldovan economy.

The debate is likely to be very heated as different factions in the parliament vary radically in their views on which way to choose to pull the country out of its present depression.

The parliament minority, which favors reunification with Romania, is planning to show muscle and press for the resignation of the Andrei Sangheli government whose economic policy is allegedly "driving Moldova into a new Soviet empire".

Other groups believe that Moldova can overcome the crisis by cooperating closely with former Soviet republics and integrating with its Eastern neighbors.

They insist that the success of the republic's efforts depends on the country's clear-cut definition of its status within the Commonwealth of Independent States and membership in the new economic union.

President Asks Parliament To Approve CIS Membership

AU2107122193 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, July 21 (AFP)—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has asked parliament to approve the former Soviet republic's membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States, according to a letter obtained Wednesday [21 July] by AFP.

In the letter dated July 2 and addressed to parliamentary speaker Petro Lucinschi, Snegur appealed to the legislature to ratify his signature of the Alma-Ata treaty, reached in December 1991.

Leaders of all former Soviet republics, except the three Baltic states and Georgia, signed the Alma-Ata treaty that created the CIS.

Snegur said the establishment of a common economic market and a new customs union, elaborated by Russia, Ukraine and Belarus earlier this month "represented a common interest" for Moldova.

Deputy Alexandru Buruiana, head of the parliamentary foreign relations committee, said Snegur was bowing to pressure from Moscow which he claimed was forcing all CIS states to chose either to become part of the economic alliance or be excluded from the club.

"If the treaty is ratified, Moldova will then be able to sign economic treaties with other former Soviet republics," Buruiana said.

Deputy Aleku Reneta, a member of the Moldovan Popular Front which has called for Moldova's reunification with Romania, accused Snegur of selling out to Russia.

"This letter is the most shameful betrayal since 1812," Reneta said, referring to Moldova's annexation to the Russian empire.

Snegur said that membership in the CIS would serve Moldova's interest in several fields of economic cooperation, including communications and transportation.

He noted however that the Alma-Ata treaty contained insufficent safeguards of Moldova's territorial integrity and of non- interference of other CIS states in its domestic affairs.

Snegur Opposes Federalization of Moldova

AU2107143393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1806 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/7/1993—The press service of the president communicated that the general Russian-Moldovan agreement about the settling of the military conflict, signed last year, had really ended the war and this fact was positively pointed out by international community, stated President Snegur in his interview to International Moscow Radio. According to Snegur, for breaking the present state of "suspension" the Tiraspol leaders should cast away their ambitions to make Moldova federal. President stated the only reasonable solution which will definitely lead to stabilisation was approving a special status for the eastern regions. The quoted source mentioned that the Government of Moldova plans to organise a new meeting with Tiraspol leaders for examination of this proposal. The president of Moldova added that the transition to a market economy means increasing integration between Moldovan and Romanian enterprises. Referring to the relations with CIS states, Snegur stated Russia had a prioritary role and the relations between Moldovan and Russian presidents and premiers are good. Moldova will refuse to create any political union within the CIS and will only plead for economic cooperation, Snegur concluded.

Dniester Seeks Support From Russian Parliament

AU2207110293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1956 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS 21/7/1993—A delegation from Tiraspol, appointed by Dniester authorities arrived to Moscow in order to take part in a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Yesterday, the Supreme Soviet had approved an appeal to the Russian Parliament demanding to recognise the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. The Dniester delegation will present this appeal to the Russian deputies. As local observers believe, after the Moscow Parliament approved its decision on Sevastopol, the Tiraspol cadres can rely on an increased receptivity of the Russian Supreme Soviet towards their demands.

Supports Russian Presence at Talks

AU2107134893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1806 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 20/7/1993—Anna Volkova, the chief of the Dniester delegation at the negotiations regarding the solution of the conflict, expressed her anxiety regarding recent mass media declarations made by leaders of the Moldovan delegation, Nicolae Andronic and Nicolae Chirtoaca. Those declarations stated that the talks had achieved a stagnation point. Volkova stated in an interview, published today in DNIESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA, that there is no way out except continuing the talks. She also added that Dniester is not against involving any international bodies in these talks. She pleaded against "elimination" of Russia from the process of peaceful mitigation and re-confirmed the fact that the Dniester delegation is firmly claiming for a confederative organisation of Moldova.

Opposes Military Solution

AU2107135693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1806 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/7/1993—Grigore Maracuta, chairman of the Dniester Supreme Soviet, stated to the Russian newspaper "NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA" (INDEPENDENT MOLDOVA) that politicians thinking to solve the Dniester problem in a military manner still exist in Chisinau. "If they manage to start the fire, there will be neither peace, nor a common state, because there will begin armed resistance and fight of partisans," Maracuta stated. According to him, only an equal dialogue can lead to the change of the enemy's image. Concluding, Maracuta said that Moldova's external borders cannot be modified, while the internal ones can be negotiated.

Gagauz President Agrees to Additional Police in Comrat

AU2207110693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1956 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/7/1993—Stepan Topal, president of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic, stated to BASAPRESS he supported the decision of the Chisinau Ministry of Interior to introduce supplementary police forces in Comrat to decrease the tension. "It is a preventive measure which will not tense the situation. When such questions are solved peacefully, everything goes well," Topal stated. Colonel Ilie Stamat, Comrat police commissar, questioned by BASAPRESS by phone, stated that additional police troops arrived from Cladar-Lunga, Vulcanesti and Cahul. Stamat added that yesterday he had had a meeting with relatives of Vlah, murdered in the night of 18 July, when the police tried to arrest a criminal group stealing sugar. "We warned them the police would use gun fire, in case it needs to defend its building. We also reminded them that innocent people were supposed to die. And we asked those from the Gagauz direction of interior not to interfere," stated Stamat.

Ministry Denies Training Anti-Terrorist Personnel in Kabul

AU2207072893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Report by Nicolae Mircea Nastase from Chisinau]

[Text] A communique of the Press Service of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic, which was published by (?HAVIORER) in Comrat, points out that a school branch of the intelligence services of the Republic of Moldova and Romania is allegedly operating in Kabul and is specialized in training personnel for the struggle against terrorists and separatists.

According to the same source, this branch's headquarters are within the compound of a hospital located in the vicinity of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic and is under the jurisdiction of Brigade General Ion Costas. According to the cited source, citizens from Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and Israel are studying at this school.

Representatives of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of National Security from Chisinau stated to a BASAPRESS reporter that such a school does not exist in Kabul and termed the news disseminated by the Gagauz official sources as gross disinformation.

Foreign Minister Meets U.S. Envoy, CSCE Mission Head

AU2107142993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1228 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/7/1993—Nicolae Tiu, minister of external affairs of the Republic of Moldova had an interview with U.S. ambassador to Chisinau, Ms. Mary Pendleton, for the examination of certain aspects regarding the relations between the two countries, MOLDOVA PRESS informs.

The Moldovan foreign minister met, on the same day, with the head of the CSCE mission to Chisinau, Timothy Williams, with whom he discussed about the latest developments in the Eastern districts of the republic, particularly about the prospects of the CSCE mission's involvement in the Moldovan-Russian negotiations on the withdrawal of the Russian 14th Army and the reactivation of the four-party mechanism.

The chief of the Moldovan diplomacy also had an interview with Romania's ambassador to Chisinau, Marian Enache, MOLDOVA PRESS says.

Deputy Parliament Chair Praises U.S. Support

AU2207110093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1956 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/7/1993—The idea of a unique, sovereign, independent and integral state of Moldova is supported in USA at all the levels, stated to NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA (Independent Moldova) Victor Puscas, vice president of the Chisinau Parliament. Referring to the results of his work visit to Washington and New York, heading a group of deputies, Puscas appreciated the USA as a stable international partner for Moldova. "The interest of Americans in our state is big," Mr. Puscas asserts, reminding that the USA was one of the first to recognize the independence of Moldova and to open its embassy in Chisinau. It had also granted economic and humanitarian aid in hard times for Moldova. The visit to the USA aimed on getting used to the American political system in the economy and local self-administration, the quoted source stated. The group of deputies visited America being invited by a state institution from the South Carolina State University, which supported all the expenses.

Official Details Problems in Military Conversion

AU2107140193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1806 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/7/1993—In Moldova, 11 industrial enterprises and several research institutes had used to be part of the Soviet military complex. Most of those were supplied with modern equipment, advanced technologies and highly qualified personnel. This statement was made to the newspaper "OASTEA MOLDOVEI" (ARMY OF MOLDOVA) by Alexandru Burbulea, head of the Economy Ministry's Direction on the Development of Production. The utilisation of capacities of these enterprises had been reduced in the last two years by 40-50 percent. In many cases, they merely manufacture home-use goods. In December 1992, the Ministry of Industry had presented the project of the conversion programme (stage I), but this project has not yet been examined. For the elaboration of the second stage in 1993, the Ministry of Industry was granted two million rubles. Nevertheless, the ministry signed the contract with the executor only at the end of May, losing another 5 months. According to the decision of the Moldovan Parliament, which is especially attentive to such problems, a credit of 4 billion rubles has been allocated for the conversion. The law regarding state budget for 1993 foresees the creation of an extra-budget fund out of the 0.3 percent tax from the production cost for all state enterprises and organizations. However, neither this opportunity is used, Alexandru Burbulea stresses. In addition, the conversion fund received 15 million rubles, but, since the ministry of industry had not elaborated the expected measures of conversion, these resources are not used.

Army To Set Up Battalion for Military Criminals

AU2107143193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1806 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 21/7/1993—A discipline battalion is up to be constituted in the Army of Moldova, stated to BASA Valeriu Pelin, head of the judicial section from the Ministry of Defence. The Ministry's leadership is now examining the status of this formation, for its soonest creation. It is necessary, first of all, due to the lack of laws for the punishment of officers committing various crimes. Until now, these officers used to be sentenced with the cessation of the sentence afterwards. In the case of a more grave violation, they were imprisoned together with common criminals. "The prison cannot replace the discipline battalion, and I consider its creation very useful," stated Pelin. He added that the battalion's status provides an usual military service, but much more rigorous in discipline.

Communique Issued on Ukrainian Border Incident

AU2207110893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1956 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/7/1993—Some political forces, as well as some mass media in Moldova and

Ukraine appreciate the attack from July 19th was a conflict which occurred at the state border between the two states. Unidentified persons had attacked on that day Ukrainian frontier-guards using fire weapons. This is stated in a communique signed by the Ukrainian Security Service, the Ukrainian State Committee for the State Border Defence and the Moldovan Ministry of National Security. According to the communique, someone promotes the idea that the treaty of cooperation between special services and border troops of Moldova and Ukraine, signed recently, doesn't work. This is claimed to be the reason for the border troops from both states don't regard the incident as a political or military action of one side against another. The relations between these teams are regulated by an agreement. The aim of their cooperation is to combat international terrorism, organized crime, drug traffic, contraband and other crimes, says the communique. On July 19th 1993, a group of unidentified persons had attacked with fire weapons Ukrainian frontier-guards at the frontier point No. 16, sited near the village of Nagornoye, Odessa region. This caused the death of a soldier. The guards have responded in the same manner, forcing the attackers to retreat, after stealing an automatic pistol. Moldovan and Ukrainian secret service supposed the attack was aimed to steal weapons. The services have begun investigations in order to arrest the criminals.

France Plans To Open Embassy in Chisinau

AU2107160593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 21/7/1993—In connection with his accreditation as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to both Chisinau and Moscow, Pierre Morel told MOLDOVA PRES that "France intends to open a permanent embassy in Chisinau. A decision to this effect has already been taken, but, given certain budget problems yet to be solved, the French Government has put off the date of its opening. The reason why I was appointed to cover for the Republic of Moldova is that in Moscow at the moment we have wider possibilities for our experts activities, various cooperation projects under way, data bases, and via Moscow we have already initiated certain cultural programmes, which therefore cannot be regarded as having any political connotation."

We fully recognise the sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova, a proof of this being the signing on 29 January this year by Presidents Francois Mitterrand and Mircea Snegur of the Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship Between France and the Republic of Moldova. We are therefore ready to extend our relations with the democratic Moldova," the French ambassador to the Russian Federation said.

Kazakhstan

Official Denies Report on Nuclear Technology Sales to India

LD2107103593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0827 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 Jul—Kazakhstan's Deputy Prime Minister Galym Abilsiitov, who is now in New Delhi, described as "absurd" and "pure speculation" the allegations of the Indian news agencies UNI and PTI that Almaty is prepared to transfer to New Delhi the technology to create nuclear-powered engines for spacecraft.

Indian journalists completely misinterpreted the proposals of the Kazakh side, Abilsiitov said in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Describing the address he made on Monday at a session of the Confederation of Indian Industries, the UNI and PTI agencies presented their own sensational conjectures that Kazakhstan has developed "a most efficient and reliable" nuclear power plant that India could make use of in its space program. At the same time, journalists claimed that Almaty was offering space technologies to India.

In reality, Kazakhstan is not involved in research and development in this area, Abilsiitov said. All rocket technology was created by Russian researchers. It is necessary to understand clearly that Kazakhstan is not a nuclear power.

The issue is that the world famous Baykonur launching pad, this "gem of a spacecraft", is on Kazakh territory. The gist of Almaty's proposals was that India could be offered the opportunity to use the pad for launching its satellites in the future. Russia holds priority in using Baykonur and in implementing space programs there, Kazakhstan's deputy prime minister pointed out. However, the Russian side is currently unable to provide for the sound operation of the launching pad on its own. Without proper funding, Baykonur is virtually falling apart. This is why Russia, Kazakhstan, and other interested parties are working on the idea of setting up an international space center using Baykonur as a base, primarily for the commercial launching of artificial satellites, Abilsiitov said.

The noise surrounding Kazakhstan's "sensational offers" is generated by Russia's decision to introduce changes into the conditions of the agreement on sales to India of cryogenic engines and related technologies. In this context, Indian observers point out that there should be a restrained and sober approach to Russia's action, taken as a result of Moscow's decision to join the regime of monitoring the nonproliferation of nuclear technologies.

Supreme Soviet Curbs Constitutional Court's Powers

PM2107150193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Oleg Stefashin: "Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Limits Constitutional Court's Powers"]

[Text] Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet has deprived the Constitutional Court of the right to institute legal proceedings on its own initiative and also to question decrees by the president, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

According to experts, this is the legislature's way of putting in its place a bumptious Constitutional Court, which has lately brought several notorious actions, as a result of which top power structures, including the republic's President N. Nazarbayev, have been deemed the "guilty" party.

Trade Union, Ecological Groups Criticize Economic Policies

MK2207101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Sergey Rogov report: "Trade Unions Flay Nazarbayev's Programs and Press for Dialogue Between Authority and Opposition"]

[Text] The coordinating council of Kazakhstan's Independent Trade Union Center has demanded a "publicized" appearance by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko on national television to explain where the government stands on the shortages of cash and nonpayment of wages in a number of republic's sectors. The cash situation, according to the Trade Union Center, is disastrous, with people getting no wages for two, three, and more months while the government takes no effective steps to rectify the situation. All this has brought a number of collectives to the brink of strike, with some already going out.

Last week's highlight in Kazakhstan was a joint statement of this same Independent Trade Union Center and the "Yelim-Ay" International Ecological Center. The document says in a nutshell that the republic's economy is clearly on the verge of crisis, and social differences have reached an explosive stage that threatens the privatization process conducted "from the top."

"Corruption and bribery, a total breakdown of law and order have reached threatening proportions and have become a way of life," the statement says. "The influence of mafia structures, and all manner of clans, is becoming increasingly conspicuous."

Not pointing straight at Nazarbayev, the authors in fact flay the entire reform process conducted by the country's leaders: "Having adopted 17 national programs with much pomp and circumstance, the government has also quietly laid them to rest. New ones are being hatched in the same armchairs—with no participation of opponents, without political parties, movements, trade unions, and public organizations being involved in looking for ways out of the crisis."

Going beyond the listing of worrying symptoms, the authors point to an alternative program for the republic's economic development drawn up by the "Yelim-Ay" fund with the participation of foreign experts, to a concept for a general tripartite agreement between trade unions, employers, and the Cabinet of Ministers, and to other joint initiatives. The Independent Trade Union Center and "Yelim- Ay" will shortly join their efforts to carry out these moves.

Observers of the political process unfolding in Kazakhstan are a bit amazed at this alliance comprised of organizations that are not strictly political. But this is quite explainable since both the Independent Trade Union Center's president Leonid Solomin, and the "Yelim-Ay" fund president Serik Abdrakhmanov, who is also the leader of the Union of People's Unity of Kazakhstan, are actively involved in politics.

"I have never set myself the task of pleasing the president," Serik Abdrakhmanov says. "I respect him and recognize him as the leader. More, I back him on most issues. But there are things on which our views diverge, and the president knows that—I have always had the courage to tell him that openly. We do criticize Nazarbayev nowadays because he is primarily responsible for the situation in society."

Serik Abdrakhmanov also does not see any other leader to head the state, and the issue, he thinks, is not to proclaim the "Down with the president" slogan but rather to step up the dialogue between the authority and the opposition.

"The experience of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan showed to us that rash moves to get power are not acceptable to us," the ecological fund president thinks. "But this does not mean at all that one should not struggle for power by constitutional means...."

Serik Abdrakhmanov thus explained the reason for this unexpected and unlikely political tandem: "There are no serious political parties in Kazakhstan—the absolute majority of the population are not allied with them. Therefore I count on people's good sense, and one of the most sensible mass organizations is the independent trade unions; thus, as the fund's president, I turned to them first."

The Independent Trade Union Center's leader thinks that support to this joint statement could take the shape of free trade unions' being organized at enterprises. "If the people come to realize that they have been deceived," Solomin added, "and come to us in the free trade unions, this be a reaction to our statement, a reaction through action, and the government would have to pay attention to all that and sit down together with us at the negotiating table."

He also spoke against replacing the republic's leaders, who should be taught to respond to the power growing inside the people—the power of entrepreneurs and trade unions.

"Chances are that not everything has crumbled before the new elections in 1994, and it would be possible to preserve and modernize something," Leonid Solomin concluded.

Committee Urges Pullout of Troops From Tajikistan

LD2107124293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1116 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty July 21 TASS—The Kazakh Republican Democratic Committee for Human Rights appealed to President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the parliament and the government on Wendesday [21 July] to withdraw Kazakh peace-keeping troops form Tajikistan.

"The participation of Kazakh guys in combat activities contradicts the peace-keeping status and, moreover, the actions are outside the UN framework", is said in a statement.

President Discusses Trade With Thai Prime Minister

LD2107222693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1721 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By KAZTAG special correspondent Vladimir Akimov and ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Zatsepin]

[Text] Bangkok, 21 Jul (TASS)—Kazakhstan is very interested in Thailand's experience of building a market economy and creating advantageous conditions for attracting foreign investment. This was stated today by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, who is here on an official visit, during his meeting with Chuan Likphai, the Thai prime minister. "This experience is instructive and useful," the Kazakh leader said.

Chuan Likphai in the course of their conversation also noted the great opportunities for an expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic links between the two countries. He said that Kazakhstan possesses enormous natural resources that Thailand lacks.

Both leaders expressed confidence that the present visit will make a substantial contribution to strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between Kazakhstan and Thailand. They pointed out the need for an expansion of trade, the stimulating of capital investment and the development of joint enterprises.

The president of Kazakhstan conveyed an invitation to the Thai prime minister to make an official visit to his country. It was gratefully accepted.

Presidential Guard Profiled

PM2107144593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Jul 93

[By A. Nugmanova from Kazakhstan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Nugmanova] President Nazarbayev's guard is just over a year old. It has a special status. It is not an army. The guard is the first to meet foreign heads of state. It also sees them off and takes part in various other ceremonial functions. Of late the guard has been greatly assisting the militia in Almaty in maintaining public law and order.

It is no secret that members of the presidential guard are selected on a competitive basis. They have to have excellent physical qualities, be at least 175 cm in height, and have lived in Kazakhstan for at least 15 years. Today new recruits are taking the oath. Let's hope that they will do their service in conditions of peace. No country in the world is viewed by Kazakhstan as an adversary.

[T.A. Umbetbayev, commander of the guard] All the nationalities currently living in Kazakhstan are represented in the guard. The guard's main task is to protect the lawfully elected organs of power and the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and to safeguard peace and order in our republic.

U.S. Technology Used to Neutralize Gas Discharges

LD2207094893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Smokestacks at Dzhambul joint stock company [word indistinct] work under a new regime. Before, the concentration of noxious discharges, which went directly into the atmosphere, made up approximately 350 grams per one cubic meter of gas. Now it is slightly higher than 3 grams. The technology on gas purification, which has been offered by the American company Monsanto, cooperating with [name indistinct], helped to reduce discharges by a factor of 100. Due to its use they would be able not only to neutralize the noxiuos gas but to use it again in the production. As a payment for the service, Dzhambul chemists made a shipment of a certain amount of their ready produce to the Americans.

Tajikistan

Border Clashes Continue; 'Militants' on Border

LD2107133493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Excerpt] The situation has again aggravated on the Tajik-Afghan border. Last night there was another armed clash between the Russian border guards protecting the CIS border line and Islamic militants. This took place near the outpost number 10. Earlier artillery fire prevented an attempt of 80 mojahedin to cross the border from Afghanistan. Two other groups were wiped out by aircraft.

Russia's Security Ministry is receiving information that the Islamics who fled to Afghanistan after suffering a defeat in the civil war in Tajikistan are preparing to start a large-scale guerrilla war. Big contingents of Tajik militants and Afghan mojahedin are already massing in the Afghan border city of Faizabad. Russia's border guards believe the main battles will soon be fought in that region. [passage omitted]

Border Incursions Detailed

LD2207064893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0455 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent Alisher Khodzhayev from Dushanbe]

[Excerpts] Good morning. I will begin with a report on the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. On the Shevabad section, individual armed groups of the opposition have penetrated Tajik territory and gone to the mountains. Mobile groups from the Tajikistan National Security Committee are dealing with their neutralization.

At one of the outposts of the Moscow border detachment, a group of armed trespassers—10-12 people—tried to cross the border, but they were met by fire from the border guards and servicemen of 201st Russian motor-rifle division. The group was eliminated. According to preliminary data, one of the soldiers of the 201st division was wounded.

Provocations on the Pyandzh and Moscow sections of the Tajik-Afghan border continue. However, there have been no major breakthroughs. [passage omitted]

It was expected that up to 1,000 Tajik refugees would be transferred from the Afghan province of Balt today via the bridge in the village of (Khoyratun) to Termez and from there to Shaartuzskiy Rayon in Tajikistan. However, probably yet another disaster which has come down on Tajikistan will prevent it—cholera. An outbreak of this grave disease has been noted on the territory of Pyandzhskiy Rayon. Cholera cases have been also registered on the Afghan bank at places where Tajik refugees have accumulated. Probably the disease has moved here from Afghanistan since cholera—we all know this—is always caused by overcrowding, bad water, bad diet, and of course by weather, which is currently awfully hot in the south. So, most likely, the crossing of the refugees will not take place, since the quarantine services will not allow the people to this bank. The republic's Ministry of Public Health is taking urgent measures to localize the center of the disease.

Russian Troops Continue To Reinforce Border

LD2207080493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0728 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Border posts along the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan continue to be reinforced, ITAR-TASS was told at the press service of the Russian border guards.

Reinforcement units and armed vehicles come from the Russian 201st Motor-Rifle Division deployed in Tajikistan, with priority given to border posts where armed groups from Afghanistan are likely to try to break through.

The situation at the border remains extremely tense although no attacks on border posts and border guards have been registered lately.

Russia's Barannikov Views Situation

LD2107154793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Khodzhayev] The working visit to Tajikistan by Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov continues. The head of Tajikistan, Imamali Rakhmanov, and Viktor Barannikov visited a military hospital where they conversed with wounded border troops from the sadly well-known 12th post. The minister reported that all the defenders of the border post had been given Russian state awards for their courage and heroism.

[Begin Barannikov recording] There is no question of a global augmentation of the military presence as such on the territory of Tajikistan, but the president has adopted a decision to strengthen the border in order to protect the Russian-speaking population, the peaceful population. Therefore, I wish to repeat once again that no strategic plans are being worked out; there is one task to be done—to take measures to strengthen our borders, that is, the borders of the CIS and not only of Tajikistan. Indeed it is necessary today to strengthen this border jointly. [end recording]

Kyrgyz Servicemen Arrive in Khorog

LD2107205393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1955 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By Mitkova; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to the POSTFACTUM agency, Kyrgyzstan servicemen arrived in Khorog, the oblast center of Gorno-Badakhshan, on 21 July. Afghan Mojahedin and the Tajikistan opposition are preparing to storm the town. If Khorog were to fall, the way to Kyrgyzstan would be open before the Mujahideen. As before, it is very tense on the Tajik-Afghan border.

Premier Denounces Afghan Actions, Notes Talks

PM2207102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 93 First Edition p 7

[Aleksandr Krasulin report under the "Hot Spots" rubric: "Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov: We Do Not Want to Fight Afghanistan"]

[Text] "We are not looking for military revenge against Afghanistan and intend to seek a political solution to the problem," Tajikistan's Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov stated when commenting on the 13 July incident on the Tajik-Afghan border. At a press conference in Moscow he reported that the Tajik leadership has held constant consultations with the Afghan authorities, some at the highest level. Unfortunately, however, it seems that mutual understanding was not achieved. Especially since Kabul knew about the attack that was in preparation.

Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov rejected the version that Tajik armed opposition forces had attacked the border post. "Afghanistan's 55th Infantry Division took part in the attack on the Russian border troops. We even know the names of most of the commanders. In addition, 66 of the 70 border violators who died were mojahedin," he said.

Answering a question on measures which the Tajik leadership intends to take to prevent a repetition of similar or even broader-scale actions, the premier pointed out that Tajikistan has already sent a protest note to the Afghan Government and has appealed to the United Nations and other international organizations. It is proposed that Iran and Saudi Arabia, which enjoy high prestige in the Muslim world, act as intermediaries in the quest for mutual understanding with the Kabul authorities. "However, if Afghanistan tried to repeat the incursion we will be forced to use military force and take appropriate actions. A number of measures of a military nature are being implemented for that purpose. The first line of defense on the border is being reinforced and a further two rows of fortification installations are being built," he noted.

The head of the Tajik Government stressed that his country is counting on help from Russia and the Central Asian republics of the former USSR in the training of military specialists and in repulsing potential aggression. This help should be given within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty and also on the basis of the bilateral agreement with the Russian Federation. In this connection he called totally unfounded the statement that Russia is thus becoming drawn into a conflict along the lines of the USSR's involvement in the war in Afghanistan.

In the premier's words, the Tajikistan Council of Ministers has adopted a decree on the development of Gorno-Badakhshan. Construction materials, industrial goods, and food will be sent there in the near future. "They are our people and we will take care of them," he said. As for the opposition, which tried to seize power in the country a year ago by force, Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov called them "bandits and there can be no question of talks with them."

Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov rated highly the cooperation with the Russian Federation. "We have been linked with the Russians by relations since 1535 and we do not believe that Russia is pursuing an imperial policy. Thanks to Russia Tajikistan acquired its own statehood in 1929. The Russians have taught us a lot, we have many common interests. We have been with Russia and will remain with it," he stressed.

Explosion at Pyandzh Hospital Invesitgated

LD2107112393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1057 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 21 Jul—A powerful explosion shook the hospital in the border village of Pyandzh in Tajikistan early this morning. There are dead and injured. This fact was confirmed to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by official military sources, but they refused to name the cause of the explosion and the number of casualties, saying that "an investigation into the tragic incident is being carried out."

Supreme Soviet Decree Upgrades Mission in Russia

LD2107134993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0300 GMT 21 Jul 93

["Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan on the formation of the Plenipotentiary Mission of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Russian Federation"; date not given]

[Text] With the object of the further strengthening of friendship and the extension of cooperation and mutual assistance between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Russian Federation, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan has decreed to form the plenipotentiary mission of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Russian Federation, abolishing the Plenipotentiary Mission of the Republic of Tajikistan in Moscow city.

[Signed] Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan

Armenia

Meeting Held With Nakhichevanis on Border Security

NC2107192093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] The Armenian and Nakhichevani delegations held a meeting on the Yeraskhavan-Sadarak border yesterday. Colonel Leonid Martirosyan, deputy commander of the General Staff; Feliks (Ozayan), commander of the motorized rifle brigade; Grigor Grigoryan, the chief border commissar; and leaders of the Araratskiy Rayon were taking part in the meeting on our side.

Deputy Chairman of the Milli Mejlis (Amar Safarov); the commander of the army unit deployed in Nakhichevan; other officials and the leaders of the Sadarak rayon were representing Nakhichevan.

Armenian Defense Ministry press service informed our correspondent that the meeting discussed the violations of the cease-fire as well as issues related to the establishment of mutual ties. In connection with the infringements against Araratskiy Rayon from Nakhichevan in recent days, agreement was reached to take measures to prevent similar incidents and ensure adherence to the cease-fire.

The leaders of Araratskiy and Sadarak rayons agreed to search for possible ways to undertake an exchange of goods between the two rayons.

The sides will meet again next month in [word indistinct].

U.S. Embassy Statement on Karabakh Positively Assessed

NC2107215493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Citing a report by the UN press service, the U.S. Embassy in Armenia informed NOYAN TAPAN news agency that the Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan has issued a statement saying that the Armenian Government assesses the position of the United States on the Karabakh problem as a positive approach that contributes to the search for ways to settle the conflict. According to Vahan Papazyan, the United States supports the Minsk Conference organized under the aegis of the CSCE through which all the sides involved in the conflict can resolve their differences.

During his news conference at the UN Headquarters on 20 July, Papazyan said that the position adopted by the United States as well as by Russia, Turkey and Iran play a determining role in the present ethnic conflict in Karabakh, given the fact that these countries are our neighbors. Even the Turkish Government, with which we have serious (?differences), has taken positive steps in the last few months. He said that the Turkish Government (?now has) a more balanced position on the conflict. Papazyan expressed the hope that Turkey would establish relations with the Armenian Government similar to the ones established with Georgia and Azerbaijan. Papazyan also said that Armenia cannot comment on the future status of Karabakh. We do not think that it would be correct to speak on the future status because that issue should be discussed during the peace talks which we hope will start this year [word indistinct]. According to Papazyan, the Armenian Government [words indistinct] resisted internal pressure for the recognition of the Nagorno- Karabakh's independence.

Baburyan Sends Letter to Mario Raffaelli

NC2107152293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1435 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Stepanakert, July 21 (SNARK)—Karen Baburyan, acting chairman of Karabakh parliament, addressed a letter to the chairman of the CSCE Minsk Group, the letter expresses Karabakh leadership's point of view relating political and technical aspects on realization of the "schedule on urgent measures" on the conflict settlement in the region, in connection with instability of inner political situation in Azerbaijan.

Tomorrow a meeting of 9 countries-members of the CSCE Minsk Group will discuss question connected with terms of fulfilling of the "schedule of urgent measures".

Karabakh Press Department Issues Statement

NC2107213093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1545 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Stepanakert, July 21 (SNARK)—Karabakh Department of Press and Information spoke out today with an official announcement in connection with the July 21 morning Azerbaijani Army advance against the Askeranskiy region in Karabakh. The announcement tells that Karabakh Department of Press and Information has a right to address people in Azerbaijan to call upon them to give up attempts to settle Azerbaijani inner political problems by getting a success at the Karabakh front, and restrain off steps that are able to worsen the conflict. Taking on account, the document notes, those official Baku announcements on Azerbaijani interest in success of mission of the CSCE Minsk Group chairman Mario Raffaelli, this Azerbaijani Army advance is not to be estimated otherwise than provocation or witnessing that there are some forces in Azerbaijan which are fighting for power and going on using the Karabakh issue for those aims. Karabakh will take all measures possible to provide security for Karabakh population, the announcement underlines. Moreover, the Karabakh leadership do again call upon Azerbaijani leaders to restrain from "power" methods and immediately direct contact the Karabakh side to cease fire.

Yerevan Reports on Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2107213693 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

We have reported the difference of views among Azerbaijan's leaders in the past. In fact, we have proved our viewpoint by pointing to several facts. The neighboring republic's leaders have complained to the world that it has been subjected to attacks. They have said that Azerbaijan wishes to agree to a cease-fire and find a peaceful way to resolve the existing problems and disputes. In fact, Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, stressed that several times. He reiterated Azerbaijan's willingness to find a peaceful solution to the problems when he met Ambassador Vladimir Kazimorov during the past few days. Regrettably, however, all that is aimed at creating an impression in the world in favor of Azerbaijan. That Republic has not abandoned its intention to maintain its aggression against the NKR and resolve the problem through the use of armed force. One of the main reasons for Azerbaijan's approach is to divert the people's attention from the economic and political crises and strengthen [words indistinct] in the country.

Nevertheless, Azerbaijan's leaders and military commanders have failed to consider the painful situation that may be created as a result of the prolongation of the dispute. It seems that they do not wish to consider such a possibility. Consequently, the military operations are continuing.

Obviously, Azerbaijan is trying to obstruct the measures that will be taken within the CSCE framework. It is no coincidence that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh worsened early this morning. Azerbaijan's military units launched a wide-scale operation against Askeran, Gadrut, Nakhichevanik, and Pirdzhemal. As usual, the enemy intensely shelled the Armenian residential areas with artillery guns before the attack.

Azerbaijan is using its air force units, tanks, and armored vehicles in the military operations. According to a report by the NKR Defense Headquarters, violent clashes are taking place in the region. However, Azerbaijan's military forces have failed to penetrate the Armenian defense lines. The enemy side has lost many men and combat vehicles. Meanwhile, the Armenian side has suffered casualties as well.

Azerbaijan's military command has been observed to mass many units and armored vehicles in Mardakertskiy Rayon's occupied areas and the Martuninskiy Rayon's battlefronts. The NKR defense positions and the peaceful residential areas close to NKR's border were fired on with various types of arms yesterday. The clashes in the other NKR battlefronts have been in the form of positional fighting.

The traffic in the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon, which is NKR's only link with the outside world, is moving without any obstacle.

Let us now report on the situation in the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The situation has recently stabilized in the border region. The number of clashes and exchanges of fire has dramatically decreased and a relatively peaceful situation has been established. The peaceful situation is disrupted by the brief exchanges of fire from time to time. Meanwhile, we must point out in the name of justice that the main reason for the exchanges of fire is the provocative activities on the Azerbaijani side. Nevertheless, the tension has been observed to be inclined to gradually subside in the border areas.

The situation in the border worsened the night before last. Kapanskiy Rayon's border areas were fired on from Azerbaijan. As usual, the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry tried to blame the Armenian side for the tension. The ministry claimed that the Armenian units in Kapanskiy Rayon attacked and violated Azerbaijan's state border on the night of 19 July. The ministry also said that the Armenian units occupied a town in Zangelanskiy Rayon. It argued that the Armenian units were forced to retreat.

We wish to stress that the Armenian Defense Ministry has denied that report. We wish to ask the objective behind Azerbaijan's unfounded claims. Undoubtedly, the enemy side wishes to use its experience to camouflage its criminal activities. Azerbaijan is making an effort to convince the international community that the Armenian retaliatory measures against the deadly attacks on Armenian residential areas are an act of aggression. However, the effects of lies and unfounded reports cannot last long.

Azerbaijani Attack on Karabakh Repulsed

NC2107151893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1412 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] According to the latest information received from Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Defense Army Headquarters, the Karabakh defenders launched a counterattack and repulsed the enemy's attacks, and by 1600 fully reoccupied the positions that they had lost during the battles in the morning.

According to the Armenian Defense Ministry press service, the situation was calm on Armenia's borders today. A relative calm has prevailed on the borders for the last three days.

Stepanakert Subjected to 'Intensive Bombardment'

LD2107180793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1724 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Jul—An intensive bombardment of residential districts in Stepanakert started at 1800 today from the direction of Agdam. According to Nagorno-Karabakh's Information and Press Department, preliminary data show that there are dead and wounded among the civilian population, and there is considerable damage.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Army 'Offensive' on Agdam Detailed

NC2107125393 Baku TURAN in English 1146 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, July 21 (TURAN)—Today at 6.30 after massive artillery preparation, armoured personal carriers of Armenian Army took the offensive of Agdam town in three directions. The advance is holding from Askeranskiy, Agdere (former Mardakertskiy), Khodzhavend (former Martuninskiy). According to preliminary information, 11 citizens of Agdam are killed, tens of people are wounded, there are serious damages as the result of bombardment. According to the information [words indistinct] for 11 o clock, Azeri Army is holding actions near Agdam.

It noteable, that Armenian advance started at the same moment, when Russian diplomat V. Kazimirov, who had discussed with G. Aliyev joint ways out of Karabakh crisis, visited Baku. Regular sitting of the countries belonging to the CSCE Minsk group, which would discuss the matters of implementation of "urgent measures plan," proposed by the CSCE for solving Armenian-Azeri conflict, is due to take place tomorrow.

Battles Advance to Suburbs

NC2107172293 Baku TURAN in English 1449 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 21 (TURAN)—Azeri army continues heavy defensive battles near Agdam, the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry's Press-Service reported by 4.30 p.m. The enemy, that have launched a large-scale offensive this morning at this sector of the front reseized the villages Muganli and Ahmedovar of Agdamskiy Region. The heavy battles at the villages Chukhurmahla and Marzli continue. According to the latest reports the battles go at the western suburbs of Agdam.

The enemy continues transporting armoured equipment and forces to this region, at the same time Armenian artillery shells the highway Agdam-Baku.

As reported, as a result of today's artillery shelling tens of civilians were killed in Agdam.

Defense Ministry on Assault

LD2107180193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Natig Abdullayev]

[Text] Baku, 21 Jul (TASS)—After a massive rocket and artillery bombardment of Agdam, the administrative center of Azerbaijan's rayon of the same name, Armenian troops made another attempt this morning to storm the town. Shortly before noon, according to the republic's defense ministry, the offensive in this sector was continuing, and the enemy had managed to capture the adjacent villages of Muganly and Shikhbabaly, and to approach the southern and western outskirts of Agdam.

According to the defense department's latest information, as evening approached, fighting here developed near the inhabited locality of Marzilli, where, despite heavy fire, subunits of the Azerbaijani army are still withstanding enemy pressure. Reports from the area state that, to the north of Agdam, the Armenian side has massed additional combat equipment that is ready to come to the aid of those attacking the town.

Aliyev Receives UK Ambassador, Comments on Ties

NC2107173793 Baku TURAN in English 1849 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 21 (TURAN)—Today the chairman of the Supreme Soviet received the ambassador of the UK in Azerbaijan Thomas Young.

During the meeting the ambassador pointed out, that his country intends to develop tight economic and political relations with Azerbaijan. "British companies display a big interest for Azerbaijan and they would like to have mutually beneficial cooperation with you," Thomas Young said.

In his turn, Geydar Aliyev pointed out, that the UK delays inauguration of its embassy in Baku, while the other states have already done this.

Speaking on the political situation in the country, G. Aliyev noted, that the war is being waged against Azerbaijan at present, that considerably hamper political and economic stabilization in the country. "Evidently, Armenia is not intends [as received] to solve the problem peacefully, and exactly today its military forces started the next large-scale offensive upon the town Agdam. This happened at the very moment, when the states-members of CSCE Minsk Group got together to find in conference the way out of the conflict.'

The UK ambassador stated, in his turn, that "the part of Azeri territory is occupied at present and the world community can't accept this."

Calls On World To Stop Armenian Attack

NC2107191293 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1438 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, 21 Jul (AZERTAC)—The chairman of the Republic's parliament, Geydar Aliyev, who also executes the powers of the Azerbaijan president, has called on the international community to take resolute measures to halt the attack launched by Armenia's armed units against Agdam this morning. This appeal, which was primarily addressed to Russia, Turkey, and the United States, the initiators of the new plan for the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, described the Armenian actions as an "aggression."

In Geydar Aliyev's opinion, international sanctions must be imposed on Armenia, which has frequently violated the obligations it has undertaken for a ceasefire. In his opinion, the resumption of the military operations, on the very day of the meeting of the nine CSCE countries in Rome in an effort to put an end to the conflict, "is a challenge to the world."

Geydar Aliyev expressed his personal position on the latest incidents in the conflict zone during the meeting with the new British Ambassador to Azerbaijan Thomas Young today. He emphatically asked the diplomat to inform his government about the situation.

Further on Meeting

NC2107220693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] The Armenian armed units attacked Agdam City early this morning. Bloody battles are being fought in the vicinity of Agdam at the present time. Azerbaijan urges the international community to obstruct the Armenian attack. Russia, Turkey, and the United States, which has proposed a joint plan to find a peaceful solution to the dispute, must take urgent and effective measures to halt the aggression.

That statement was made by Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, when he received Thomas Young, the new British ambassador to Azerbaijan, today. Aliyev said the following:

It is common knowledge that the representatives of nine CSCE countries will meet in Rome today. The information we have is that the Armenian community in Nagorno-Karabakh should have responded to the proposal made by the peaceful countries today. We have not yet received any information on whether or not the Armenian side has responded to the proposal. The Armenian side moved to escalate tension in the disputed region once again today.

Geydar Aliyev urged Amb. Young to inform his government on the latest incidents in the front lines. He said: I have conveyed similar requests to Russia and the United States during the telephone conversations I had with their ambassadors in Baku.

On his part, Amb. Young said that he will take up his duties in Azerbaijan in September. He also stressed that his country's approach on the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan has not changed and reiterated that Britain upholds the principle that borders are inviolable.

The guest was briefed on the social and political situation in the republic.

State Adviser Vefa Kulizade; Namik Akhundov, head of one of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet departments; and Harold Johnson, Britain's temporary representative in Azerbaijan, attended the meeting.

Imprisoned Isa Kamberov Said Beaten

NC2107171293 Baku TURAN in English 1449 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 21 (TURAN)—Ex-speaker of Azerbaijan parliament, arrested and charged with organization of bloodshed in Ganja July 4, was transported to Ganja.

Witnesses, that saw him at the airport by the moment of his transport to Ganja, reported, that the signs of beating were on his face.

At the same time, the authorities don't let Kamberov's lawyer, as well as the deputies I. Ibragimov and T. Gasymov to meet with him.

The minister of internal affairs Vagif Novruzov refused to explain why I. Kamberov was the [words indistinct] transported to Ganja. "There are thousands of prisoners and I cannot be informed where any of them is being kept."

Elchibey Statement: Ganja View Violates Constitution

NC2107123793 Baku TURAN in English 1146 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, July 21 (TURAN)—Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey has made a statement, in which he considered sitting of Milli Majlis July 15-16, devoting to Ganja developments, "to be brutal violation of Constitution and ignoration of principles of democracy and justice."

The statement points, "deputies commission has been working under the brutal pressure of the people, seizing the power in the country." Surat Guseynov, rebellious leader, had been appointed prime-minister even before the end of investigation, that fact casted doubt on the objectiveness of commission's conclusions and it was confirmed then. The document runs, before the resolutions of commission had been read out at Milli Majlis sitting, the Chairman of Supreme Soviet [SS] Geydar Aliyev and Surat Guseynov have met with the members of commission and made them repeal the conclusion on political responsibility of Surat Guseynov. In the token of protest against this pressure of Aliyev and Guseynov, deputy Ibragim Ibragimov left the commission and another its member Mirmahmud Fatayev rejected to sign under total document.

Even despite of brutal pressure, as it is saying in the document, "commission confirmed the facts of illegal existing of 709 military unit and its insubordination to Defense Ministry."

The comment condemns the actions of the chairman of SS, "who has turned the sitting into political court using the way of blackmail and threats, making the witnesses to testify against president."

President Elchibey called on freedom-loving forces of the world to back Azerbaijani nation, which is holding struggle for freedom and independence, and which would not allow totalitarian regime be restored in Azerbaijan at the end.

President expressed hope, that struggle for restoring truth and justice would be success.

Mamedov Returns From Turkey, Comments on Democracy

NC2107172693 Baku TURAN in English 1449 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 21 (TURAN)—Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the opposition, the chairman of the National Independence Party [NIP] returned to Baku from Turkey. As the chief of NIP's press-service Rauf Mirkadirov reported TURAN Agency, the visit was connected with the weakening of E. Mamedov's health.

By insistent request of Hikmet Cetin, the minister of external affairs, E. Mamedov visited Ankara for a very short time period and had 2-hours lasting meeting with the head of the foreign affairs department of Turkey. As the press-service reported, Hikmet Cetin expressed his concern in connection with the latest events in Azerbaijan. In his turn, E. Mamedov said, that he didnt observe any serious threat for the democracy in Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Gudauta Leader Ardzinba Threatens Sukhumi

LD2107175493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent N. Kandiashvili; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Artillery exchanges continue in the vicinity of the villages of Shroma and Akhalsheni. As a result, the Georgian side has managed to wipe out one of the enemy's fire positions. There are dead and wounded on both sides.

In connection with the speech by Vladislav Ardzinba, head of the Gudauta grouping, threatening to take Sukhumi in the event of a refusal by the Georgian side to sign his proposed draft, the Georgian Defense Ministry today issued an official statement saying that there is no danger threatening the city of Sukhumi and it is reliably defended by Georgia's Armed Forces. Despite Ardzinba's great wish there is no intention to leave the city.

Meanwhile, this morning Boris Pastukhov, the Russian president's personal representative, left Tbilisi for Gudauta. He is expected to return to Tbilisi this evening.

Sukhumi 'In No Danger'

LD2107210493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] The following is a statement of the press service of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Georgia:

On 20 July, Russia's TV program Novosti relayed an interview with Ardzinba in which he said that if the Georgian side did not withdraw its Army from Abkhazia and did not sign an agreement favorable to the Gudauta side, then the Abkhazians would have to capture Sukhumi.

Those who are not familiar with the situation may think that the separatists did not want and attempt to take Sukhumi before. In fact, however, Ardzinba has made such statements before and his gangs' attacks on Sukhumi and their outcome are widely known. We understand the complex situation Ardzinba is in. He continuously must lie to his own people, who are suffering great losses after attacking Sukhumi. Their faith in their leader is dwindling.

The press service of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Georgia is authorized to state that Sukhumi is in no danger of falling. It is safely guarded by the Georgian Armed Forces and despite Ardzinba's great wish, these do not intend to leave Sukhumi.

Missile Fired at Georgian Passenger Plane

LD2207020093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Georgian sources have reported that a Georgian passenger plane has been fired at. At approximately 1800 hours Tbilisi time on Wednesday evening, 21 July, a heat-seeking missile was fired at the TU-154 passenger plane which was making the Tbilisi-Sukhumi flight. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press center of the Georgian military command in Sukhumi that the missile had been fired from a ship. The missile damaged one of the engines; however, the crew who was taking passengers and humanitarian aid to Sukhumi managed to land the plane at the Sukhumi airport. There were no casualties either among the passengers or the crew. However, the press center's report points out that it was not the first time that Georgian planes on the Tbilisi-Sukhumi route have been fired at.

Warfare Continues in Abkhazia; Casualties Reported

LD2207100893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0950 GMT 22 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Positional warfare continued on the Gumista River in Abkhazia as Georgian troops were reported shelling Abkhazian villages of Shroma, Kamakiy, Psirtskha and the town of Novyy Afon, as well as Abkhazian positions in the village of Eshery. Casualties were reported in the villages of Nedia [as received], Baslakhu [as received] and Mokhova in the Ochamchira district which also came under artillery fire last night, the Abkhazian Defence Ministry said.

Shevardnadze, Yeltsin Envoy Pastukhov Meet 21 Jul

LD2107201393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Today, Chairman of the Georgian Parliament and Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze, met the Russian Federation president's personal envoy to the conflict zone, Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

After a tete-a-tete conversation, the chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Inter-Ethnic Relations, Aleksandre Kavsadze; Georgia's first deputy foreign minister, Mikheil Ukleba; Russia's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Georgia, Vladimir Zemskiy; and other officials took part in the meeting.

The conversation touched on the ceasefire in the conflict zone and some trouble areas in separate points of the Russo-Georgian agreement. An agreement on continuing intensive consultations on the aforementioned issues has been reached.

Agree On Cease-Fire Draft

LD2207034693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0300 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] We have received an encouraging—one would like to believe—report from Tbilisi. The Georgian News Agency reports that the text of the draft agreement on a cease-fire in Abkhazia has been finally agreed. Late on 21 July, there was a meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state, and Boris Pastukhov, personal envoy of the Russian president, in which the text of the draft agreement on a cease-fire in the conflict zone in Abkhazia was finally agreed upon. Today the draft will be considered at a joint session of the Defense Council and the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.

Eduard Shevardnadze told a correspondent of the Georgian News Agency that the work on the draft had been difficult and tense, but the most important thing for them had been to stop bloodshed.

Abkhazia's Shartava Cited on 'Bitter Lesson'

LD2107111693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Zhiuli Shartava, prime minister of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia, has stated that the situation in Abkhazia is really tense. What has happened is a bitter lesson not only for the Abkhazian and Georgian population but also for those who have encouraged the confrontation. We must do everything to stabilize the situation. Abkhazia must be united within Georgia, he said.

Shevardnadze Lists Regime's 'Grave' Mistakes

LD2107163893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 93

["Excerpt" from speech by Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze at meeting with Writers' Union in Tbilisi on 21 July—recorded]

[Text] Thank you very much once again for your support. It is so important and necessary. Today everybody needs to be buoyed up, everybody who is sincerely fighting for his country's interests and future, they need your support, boosting, and help. Of course, the leadership is in the same situation. Everybody's word is important, and writers' words are especially important. You know that. I would not like to dwell on our relations which span many years. When there were difficulties, I have always thought it my duty to call on Georgian writers. I always found support, spiritual nourishment, and lessons there which are necessary to have during difficult times.

Now the country is facing the most difficult period. You can see this clearly and so can the whole of Georgia. Where did we go wrong? What did we do that brought us to this deadlock? Probably we have made many mistakes.

In my opinion, the first mistake was to have looked at relations with other countries in a somewhat superficial and primitive way. When we declared independence, we considered that we belonged to ourselves, and being an independent country we, would be able to say "no" to what had existed for decades and centuries in the economy, finances, daily life, and relations with people and so on. This has put us in isolation for some time. This was a fatal mistake. We did not understand then that in declaring independence we did not fully embrace independence. When one is talking about these high ideals and pining for them, and when one can put the issue of independence on the agenda in real terms, then one has to think about the country's future, the difficulties it may face and how to overcome them, simply how to feed the people, and so on.

None of this was forecast. I am not criticizing or blaming anybody, as the aspiration toward independence which Georgia had lost many centuries ago was so strong. I do not mean solely Georgia's joining Russia; our independence had practically been lost long before that. Georgia had been a punished, destroyed, wrecked country for many centuries. Thus, one cannot ask that people dreaming about unity and independence should accurately weigh up everything at the very moment of becoming independent. I would like all of us to be generous in connection with these mistakes.

The next mistake was our very superficial and irresponsible attitude toward the economy. We were talking a lot about the market economy and little did we care about saving whatever economy we had. We did not understand the concept of the market economy and neither did they in Russia. The market economy, first of all, is wealth. It means using this wealth properly. I do not mean only material wealth but intellectual as well, people's spiritual wealth and so on, and, of course, I mean material wealth as well. We could not have escaped unpunished by God, as all we have been doing in this most complex field of life and human relations, the most crucial sphere, was to destroy. And it still continues the same way—destruction, plunder, and robbery; everything that had been created badly or well under a good system or a bad system for decades, has been completely wrecked. This is where we are now. Just a fraction of the economy remains and it is on its last legs. This was the second grave mistake.

The third grave mistake also has to do with politics. We practically declared democracy but started to establish an authoritarian regime and practically we found ourselves under the authoritarian regime. This regime has greatly damaged Georgia. Once again, I will not give any names. Probably we had to experience this bitterness, this tooth had to be pulled out. It greatly damaged Georgia, as we not only cut ourselves off from Russia and former Soviet republics, but the whole world turned its back on us.

The fourth gravest mistake and our biggest sin was that not everything was calculated when the war between the Ossetians and the Georgians broke out. This war should not have started.

Defense Ministry Press Official Cited on Censorship

NC2107152693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1358 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] Tbilisi, July 21 (SNARK)—Head of Georgian Defence Ministry Press Service Margeshvili said to SNARK that it is prohibited to cover information which might damage the Republic's military potential till some certain time. Georgian Defence Ministry Press Attache Dato Garsevanishvili said to SNARK that it is not permitted to analyze and forecast events.

Parliament Adopts Ownership Law; Environment Minister Quits

AU2107161393 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 16 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under rubric "Diary of the Georgian Parliamentary Session": "There Is a Law on the Right of Ownership"]

[Text] On 15 July, at the session of the Georgian Parliament, Mevlud Tsiklauri, deputy chairman of the Commission for Economic Questions, submitted for its second hearing the draft law on the right of ownership. That took up almost the whole session and was adopted by the parliament.

The Law on the Right of Ownership is one of the fundamental laws to the country's economic organization. It has come into force for the first time in the history of Georgian statehood and determines property relations in our country. This law gives equal rights and duties to the state and other subjects of ownership, including citizens and different juridical persons. Henceforth, it will equally protect the property of both state and private persons. At the same time, the subjects and objects of the right of ownership have, for the first time, been specifically determined by law. Subjects are citizens, juridical persons, and the state. The fact that the citizen occupies first place in this list demonstrates that the private owner-citizen has the same rights as the state with regard to property ownership, which is of particular significance. In addition, the law specifies fundamental rules concerning the ownership of property on the territory of Georgia by foreign citizens, juridical persons, and states and foreign organizations.

At the end of the session, the "Greens" faction in the Georgian Parliament delivered the following statement: "For a long time now, we, Georgia's Greens, have had information that the Cabinet of Ministers have created such an atmosphere in their relations with the Ministry for the Protection of the Environment, that it has become virtually impossible for the department to carry out its functions. Therefore, Shota Adamia, the minister for the protection of the environment, has submitted a statement to the head of state- chairman of the Parliament in which he points out that, in the situation that has been created, there is no longer any sense in his remaining in his post and requests that he be relieved of his duties. In all this time, the minister had not lost hope that the situation would improve and that he would be able to implement the measures necessary for environmental protection. This has proved impossible and has resulted in Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Shota Adamia, the minister proposed by the head of state and approved by Parliament, an eminent scientist and organizer, deciding to resign from the post he holds.

"In connection with this, the Greens faction demands that Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua and Vice-Premier Avtandil Margiani address the parliament in order to clarify the situation that has taken shape.

"We would also like to point out that a campaign has recently been conducted against Georgia's Greens. We do not rule out that the relations toward Shota Adamia, one of the founders of the Greens and a member of the party, is yet another battle to be waged against the Greens. As can be seen, the vigorous statements made by Georgia's Greens against corruption does not suit certain people. Such a campaign cannot stop us. We demand a rapid response to our proposals, submitted at the parliament session on our behalf by Batoni Givi Tumanishvili."

With this, the session ended its work.

South Ossetian Official Predicts 'Fresh Large-Scale War'

LD2107162493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1536 GMT 21 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul—"The possibilities for a political dialogue between Georgia and South Ossetia are practically exhausted and we are slowly but surely moving towards a fresh large-scale war." This assessment of the situation in the region was given at a news conference in Moscow today by Alan Chochiyev, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia (an autonomous oblast within Georgia).

He based his assessment on the fact that South Ossetia's leadership will "under no circumstance" agree to remain within Georgia and intends to "strive to achieve reunification with North Ossetia and thereby become part of Russia," which in his opinion the "Georgian leadership will resist by military means."

Asked by the ITAR-TASS correspondent how this position ties up with the recent statement in Dagomys by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in which he advocated an "indivisible Georgia with guaranteed autonomy for Abkhazia and South Ossetia as parts of it," Alan Chochiyev said that this statement was a "bluff" which Russia is not giving effect to in practice, and if it does attempt to give effect to it there "will be war in the North Caucasus."

Sigua Interviewed on Abkhazia, Political Situation

AU2207115093 Tbilisi 7 DGHE in Georgian 16-22 Jul 93 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua by 7 DGHE correspondent Goga Okropiridze; place and date not given: "'The Cabinet of Ministers Is Ready To Resign' and Then the Premier Will Go Back To Where He Spent 25 Years"]

[Text] [Okropiridze] Recently, the situation has again become worse in Abkhazia, which has been followed by positive steps on the part of Russia.

[Sigua] Yes. One can almost feel that the needle in the Russian compass has shifted. The negotiations in Moscow did not yield any results. All three sides agreed to a cease-fire. Yesterday, they were to have signed this document but the Abkhazian delegation presented fresh grievances. According to the preliminary agreement, such action should be severely punished. This has not happened.

[Okropiridze] Several days ago, you announced that, if Russia does not take the appropriate measures in order to regulate the Abkhazian conflict, you would raise the question of severing diplomatic relations with it.

[Sigua] The matter under discussion concerned the ambassador. We summoned Reut [commander of the Russian Group of Forces in the Transcaucasus] who said that the Gudauta group was not subordinate to him. I requested that he convey our views to the leaders in the Russian Ministry of Defense.

[Okropiridze] How serious were you in raising this question with Reut?

[Sigua] This question was not raised with Reut. I transmitted this with the aim that the Russian side would stop arming the Abkhazians.

[Okropiridze] You said in one of your interviews that there was a serious reaction to this statement. Do you not think that it has had some influence on the development of events in Abkhazia?

[Sigua] Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Sandro Kavsadze [special personal envoy of the Georgian head of state on the resolution of the conflicts in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region] informed me from Moscow that this statement resulted in a good reaction toward Georgia in Russia. In any case, Russia has decided that the exacerbation of diplomatic relations with us is not to its advantage. News has come that, as a result of my statement, General Kolesnikov has been assigned to travel to Krasnodar and hold a meeting with other leaders on the troops stationed in the North Caucasus.

[Okropiridze] How realistic is a regulation of the conflict through negotiations with Russia?

[Sigua] I believe that the principal role in these negotiations should be fulfilled by international organizations and not Russia.

[Okropiridze] The view has become established in certain political circles that there exists two Russias: an antidemocratic Russia and a democratic Russia.

[Sigua] Such an approach is incorrect. "Democratic" Russia has already shown its face. The policy that is being conducted by the Russian side in Abkhazia is a purely Russian policy. We should admit that, today, Russia is conducting an undeclared war against Georgia.

[Okropiridze] Have you spoken about this with the head of state?

[Sigua] I have always been saying this at our meetings and I confirm now that we should adopt a radical position toward Russia.

[Okropiridze] Recently, a list of draft documents bearing the signature of [Vice-Premier] Batoni Margiani was distributed in Parliament. They concerned the creation of a new economic union on the basis of the former republics of the Soviet Union, in which Georgia figures. Was this question agreed with you?

[Sigua] The drafts were not discussed in the Cabinet of Ministers as I consider that this is a political and not an economic question and its resolution is the prerogative of Parliament. I view any similar new CIS union to be ephemeral. How can one talk of any such union when relations between its members are strained to the limit. Therefore, I do not see any prospects in joining such a union. Georgia has to establish direct interstate relations with all the republics.

[Okropiridze] We often hear it said that Georgia apparently is unable to exist without the Russian economy.

[Sigua] If we had a large amount of convertible currency, of course, we would manage to revive the economy without Russia. In conditions of a lack of currency, we are forced to have a close economic union with it for a specific period of time. However, this is not succeeding. If Russia does not give us any state credit, we will not be able to buy anything from it.

[Okropiridze] The current Georgian Government is, at a glance, eclectic. It is made up of both reformist and antireformist forces. How would you characterize their work?

[Sigua] Who is antireformist-minded there?

[Okropiridze] That is to say, you believe that there are no antireformist forces in the Cabinet but it is also a fact that there is no united team there.

[Sigua] Everyone knows that reforms have to be implemented. If someone opposes this process, he will not remain in the Cabinet. There is a difference of opinion regarding the nature and pace of reforms. Naturally, this has to be so. After all, it is not possible for everyone to hold the same view. This is old thinking. Every minister should have his own views concerning the pattern for the development of reforms and structural shifts.

[Okropiridze] The Cabinet of Ministers has elaborated a program for macroeconimic stabilization and systematic changes. There are cases when, proceeding from this document, it is not possible to adopt certain decrees and socialist elements are being introduced. Take, for example, the draft law elaborated by the Ministry of Finance that envisages an increase in the role of ministries in production.

[Sigua] Life has forced us to get the ministries to look at economic matters as well. We will not achieve any results simply by looking toward the 21st century. Large-scale privatization is beginning in September, as a result of which every large enterprise will be transformed into a joint-stock company and, in this way, the ministries will lose their economic functions.

[Okropiridze] How realistic is it, at this stage, to realize our economic potential?

[Sigua] This is wholly possible if we can attract credits. We are lucky in that we have not built any new large enterprises. Georgia has a fairly large base as far as chemicals, metallurgy, machine building, and light industry are concerned.

[Okropiridze] The determination of branch priorities is already on the agenda.

[Sigua] These priorities are being determined. Power-intensive and metal-intensive enterprises will, in general, not be developed in Georgia. In industry, priority will be given precisely to machine building and electronics. It is necessary to utilize rationally existing bases.

[Okropiridze] What can you say about the headquarters for reforms?

[Sigua] The headquarters for reforms is functioning as far as possible. However, there are certain contradictions here also.

[Okropiridze] Do you attend its meetings?

[Sigua] When necessary, we hold meetings in my office.

[Okropiridze] Who is responsible for reforms?

[Sigua] The Cabinet of Ministers.

[Okropiridze] Why, in your view, are reforms being hindered?

[Sigua] Who said that reforms are being hindered?! We have to take into account that Georgia has lost one and one-half years. Practically nothing was done in 1991. Land reform began only on 1 February 1992 and reform of the housing fund on 1 April. Now we are saying that we are lagging behind. Do we have a legislative base? Parliament gave us the right to issue decrees only in April and the privatization process has also begun. This has affected, in the main, commercial and service facilities and transport. More than 2,000 facilities have already been prepared for sale.

[Okropiridze] What types of facilities are these?

[Sigua] All types: the metallurgical factory in Rustavi, the "nitrogen" ["azotis"] [factory] and all large enterprises.

[Okropiridze] What form will privatization take?

[Sigua] Small and medium enterprises will be completely privatized. Enterprises are themselves presenting proposals on how they are to be turned into joint-stock companies. This concerns those enterprises, the value of whose funds exceeds 100 million rubles.

[Okropiridze] How do you assess the granting of emergency powers to the head of state?

[Sigua] This is necessary at this stage although this should not happen in a normal state.

[Okropiridze] An economic council attached to the head of state has been created that is a parallel body to the headquarters for reforms. Is this creating contradictions?

[Sigua] No contradictions have been visible as yet, since it discusses, in the main, operational questions relating to supplying the front [in Abkhazia]. The council was set up on account of the state of emergency, which justifies its existence, although it is also acquiring the form of a parallel structure.

[Okropiridze] A few days ago, you said that a program is being elaborated to place the country's economy on a war footing. Is there a need for this today?

[Sigua] The program is already being implemented. Everything is being channelled toward the front. For example, fuel coming into the country is, first and foremost, being sent to Abkhazia. Those enterprises that are able to produce goods necessary for the military cause have been put into action.

[Okropiridze] What is your view concerning the reorganization of the Cabinet of Ministers?

[Sigua] Today, the number of ministries and committees reaches 32, which gives rise to a certain paralysis. I think that, in September, the question of structural changes to executive power will be raised in Parliament. The number of ministries and committees will probably be reduced to 15 or 18.

[Okropiridze] How long will the "budgetary vacation" last?

[Sigua] We drew up the budget quite some time ago. At that time, we received a telegram from Turkmenistan informing us of the increase in the price of natural gas. Price increases have also affected other goods. This has turned the budget upside down and it has become necessary to recalculate everything anew.

[Okropiridze] When will the final variant be elaborated?

[Sigua] I believe that the draft budget will already be submitted to the session of Parliament by 20 July but, on account of the unexpected increase in the price of petroleum products, it is possible that the adoption of the budget will be delayed for a certain time. So,....

[Okropiridze] If we take into account the attitude of Parliament to the Cabinet of Ministers, the budget will not be ratified in any form without opposition.

[Sigua] You cannot name me one realistic speech in Parliament concerning the budget. If a deputy submits proposals, let us say, on cutting expenses in education, he will incur the wrath of this sphere. Therefore, he says that the budget is no good. This is populism.

[Okropiridze] So, the danger of a budget collapse is real?

[Sigua] Of course. This will depend on the mood of the majority of the deputies. If their priority will be the collapse of the budget and, in this way, to cause a Government crisis, naturally, nothing will prevent this.

[Okropiridze] What, then, is the reason for the parties' negative attitude toward the Cabinet of Ministers? Is it to acquire new spheres of influence?

[Sigua] This interest, first and foremost, is motivating them.

[Okropiridze] Recently, the president of the National Bank made it known that the IMF had authorized the monetary and credit policy being conducted by him. This statement has not been followed by any reaction from you.

[Sigua] There will be a reaction as the people are being once more deceived.

[Okropiridze] How justifiable is it to say that it is solely the incorrect policy of the bank that has resulted in the coupon being hit by inflation? Mechanisms for strengthening the coupon have not been set in motion.

[Sigua] These mechanisms existed from the very beginning but the actions of the bank have destroyed them. Declaring the coupon as the sole means of payment during privatization will considerably contribute to its strengthening.

[Okropiridze] At one of the sessions of Parliament, the head of state, to all intents and purposes, defended the National Bank. How do you explain this?

[Sigua] I do not agree in principle with Shevardnadze on this issue. One cannot defend the bank as there are no grounds for justifying its actions.

[Okropiridze] Has this issue given rise to friction between you and the head of state?

[Sigua] This question will be raised at the next session of Parliament and everything will be aired. I will not back down from my position regarding the bank.

[Okropiridze] Can one expect the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers?

[Sigua] This depends on the outcome of the discussion concerning the draft budget. The Government is ready to resign today even.

[Okropiridze] Would you like to head a new Cabinet of Ministers?

[Sigua] No.

[Okropiridze] What would you do were you to resign?

[Sigua] I would go back to where I was working for 25 years—the sphere of science.